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ABSTRACT

The location, uses and changes of minority land resources are examined. The utility of an "expanded ownership" approach is demonstrated. Practical ways to implement a minority business development strategy utilizing existing minority-owned land as a base are considered. One idea in particular is discussed: the possibility of giving minority landowners access to federally owned land in ways that would contribute to the viability of existing minority farm enterprises. It has been found that black landowners have been losing their land at a rapid rate in the South in large part because the size of their individual holdings is not sufficient to generate an adequate income. Federal landownership is quite extensive in the South, where most black-owned land is concentrated. Commercial activity is already quite extensive on federal landholdings in the southeast. The use of public lands to accommodate the grazing needs of minority-owned beef cattle enterprises is one of the most interesting possibilities for systematically utilizing public land in a land-based minority development strategy. Public lands could also contribute substantially to other minority enterprise development operations as well, including a variety of specialty crop production activities and timber operations. (Author/JM)

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June 30, 1976

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary

OFFICE OF MINORITY BUSINESS ENTERPRISE
Alex Armendaris, Director

Land and Minority Enterprise:

The Crisis and The Opportunity

Policy Research Study Prepared by Dr. Lester M. Salamon of the Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina for U.S. Department of Commerce

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Preface

One of the most persistent barriers to minority economic development in the United States has been the lack of capital under minority control. The President's Advisory Council on Minority Business Enterprise took explicit note of this fact in 1971 when it reported to the President that: "Economic development cannot proceed without a financial base." [1] To remedy this situation, the Advisory Council proposed a new strategy for minority business development activities, one that focused on "expanded ownership" of equity resources.

Fortunately, this new emphasis has finally attracted attention to a minority equity resource, and a group of minority entrepreneurs, that have long been ignored in federal minority development efforts: minority-owned land and the minority farmers and bther businessmen that control it. In the South at least, blacks and other minorities own millions of acres of land, making land probably the largest single equity resource in minority hands in the region. In the 14 states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia, black farmowners controlled almost 5.7 million acres of land in whole or in part as of the most recent (1969) agricultural census. At $200 an acre—a conservative figure—this means an equity base of more than $1 billion, even without including the urban real estate and the additional land held by minorities in other nonfarm uses.

During the past two and one-half decades, however, this equity base has been disappearing at an alarming rate, thanks to the combined forces of migration, technological change and outside speculation. Between 1954 and 1969 alone, the number of black farmowners in these 14 states dropped from 175,000 to about 67,000 and the amount of black-owned land fell from 10.6 million acres to 5.7 million, an average loss of 333,333 acres per year. During the five-year period 1964–1969 alone, 33,000 black farmowners lost their land, producing a drop in black-owned acres of 1.2 million. If this rate were to continue, there would be no black-owned land at all left in these states by the year 2000.

What makes this situation particularly troubling is the mounting evidence that blacks are frequently losing this land without fair compensation as a result of title disputes, heir property sales, or unscrupulous profiteering on the part of land speculators who learn of changes in local land values well before the minority landowners. The frequent pattern is for land to remain in minority hands only so long as it is economically marginal, and then to be acquired by whites when its value begins to increase. In the process, a vital source of equity leveraging power is systematically squandered at the very time that national policy has made the expansion of such power a major focus of concern.

Minority-owned land in the American South thus constitutes at once a crisis and an opportunity. The crisis reflects the rapid depletion of

[1] President's Advisory Council on Minority Busines Enterprise, *Minority Enterprise and Expanded Ownership: Blueprint for the 1970s* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 33.

this crucial and unique minority equity resource. The opportunity grows out of the possibility of slowing this trend and then utilizing minority-owned land as a foundation for greater minority participation in the dramatic economic development activities occurring in the Southern region.

The research reported here was undertaken to lay the groundwork for seizing this opportunity. Funded by the Office of Minority Business Enterprise of the U.S. Department of Commerce, the research had three primary missions: first, to describe and analyze the extent, location, and utilization of minority land resources in the southern states, drawing chiefly on statistical data available in the agrcultural censuses compiled by the U.S. Census Bureau; second, to assess the validity of the "expanded ownership" approach as it applies to land through a systematic evaluation of the consequences of an innovative, Depression-era experiment called the Resettlement Program, which distributed almost 170,000 acres of decent agricultural land to some 2,000 minority farm families on long-term, low-interest loans; and third, to begin examining specific policy options that might aid minority landowners, especially the possibility of giving minority landowners greater access to the commercial activities that take place on the vast public land holdings in the South.

Clearly, these three subjects hardly exhaust the agenda of issues that must be addressed if progress is to be made in formulating a minority development strategy that takes advantage of the unique equity resource represented by minority-owned land. In fact, work is already under way on two further issues: first, an examination of the mechanisms by which black land loss has actually occurred over the past two decades; and second, an analysis of the ways in which minority land owners can cope more successfully with major public and private development projects that occur in their locales. But, it was felt important to give the first three reports somewhat wider circulation at once in the hope of attracting more serious attention to both the crisis and the opportunity represented by minority-owned land, and thus to stimulate others to join in the effort to design and implement a land-based minority economic development strategy. If this report makes any progress in this direction, it will have achieved its purpose. Readers are consequently invited to write to the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. to learn how they can be of assistance.

I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, and especially to its Director, Alex Armendaris, and its Chief Counsel, John Topping, and Bonita Scott, Research Assistant for the support and encouragement they provided—and continue to provide—in this work. The public is well served by the determination and vision these officials have shown in energetically exploring wholly new approaches to the critical policy problems within their agency's field of responsibility. In addition, thanks are also due to Dr. Robert Browne of the Black Economic Research Center in New York, and Joseph Brooks of the Emergency Land Fund in Atlanta, whose pioneering work on behalf of minority landowners in the South has been a constant source of inspiration, and whose vast store of knowledge on this subject has been an important source of insight. Finally, I want to thank the researchers associated with the Duke-OMBE Land Project over the past two years for the invaluable assistance they have provided in compiling these reports. A complete list of these individuals is provided on the following page, and specific references to their contributions are indicated where appropriate in the body of the report. Needless to say, however, despite the assistance I have received, the overall design of this research and the views expressed and conclusions reached in this report are my responsibility alone, for which I take full credit or blame, as the case may be.

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Foreword

A realistic strategy for minority economic development should build on resources already under minority ownership. In recognition of the fact that farm land in many Southern states constitutes one of the most important capital resources in minority hands, the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE) in June 1973 undertook with Duke University an examination of the possibilities for minority economic development of a land based strategy. Dr. Lester Salamon of Duke University's Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs has directed this project with extraordinary dedication and imagination. Throughout this project he has worked closely with John Topping, OMBE Chief Counsel and Bonita Scott, Research Assistant.

The results of this research include a detailed study of black land loss in Southern states, an examination of the long-term effects of land ownership on rural black families, and an analysis of the potential uses of publicly owned land for minority economic development.

While the focus of the OMBE-Duke land study is on black-owned land in Southern states, most of the policy implications would also apply to other regions and to members of other minority groups. It is OMBE's hope that this study will provide valuable input to anyone interested in rural economic development.

Alex Armendaris
Director
Office of Minority Business Enterprise

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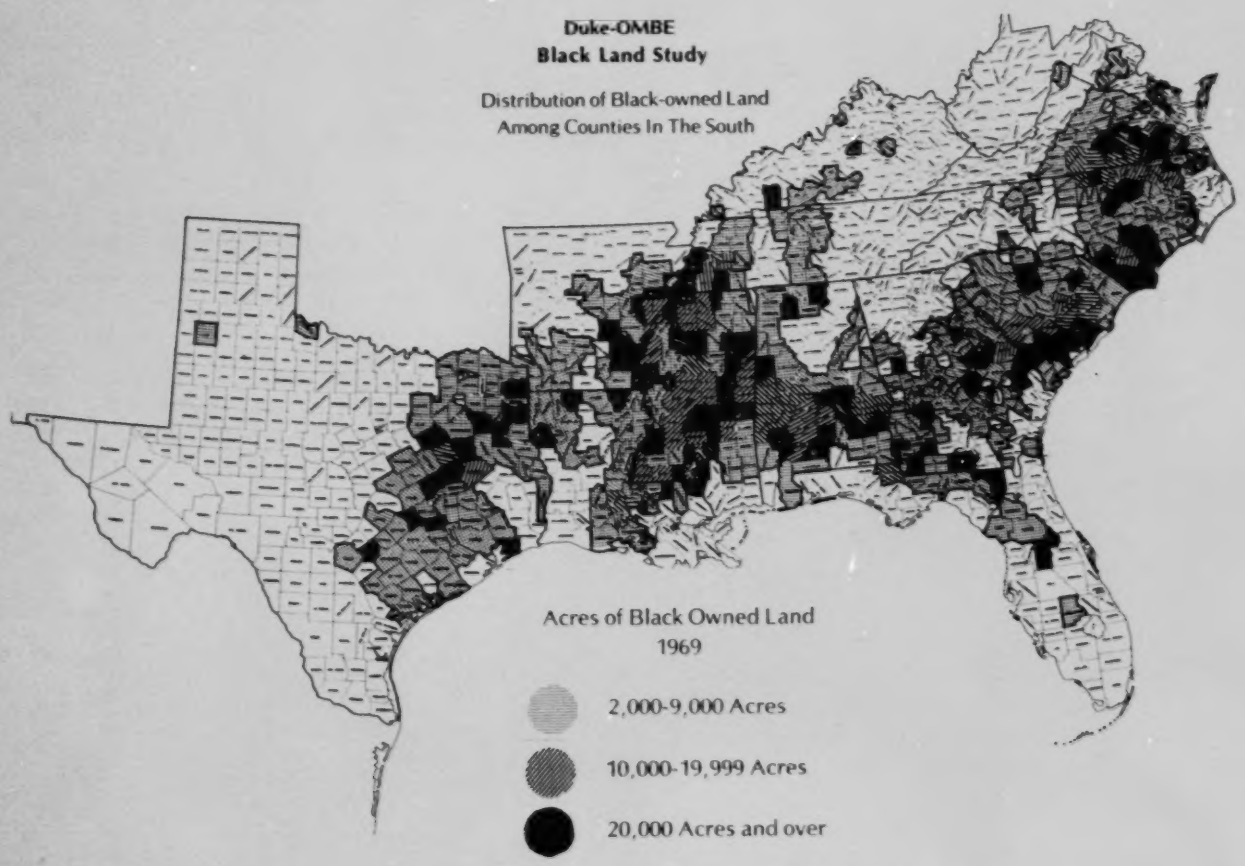
Duke-OMBE
Black Land Study
Distribution of Black-owned Land
Among Counties In The South
Acres of Black Owned Land
1969
2,000-9,000 Acres
10,000-19,999 Acres
20,000 Acres and over

Black-Owned Land

Profile of a Disappearing Equity Base

PART ONE

Introduction

The first step toward formulating a land-based minority development strategy is to determine the exact scope and character of the land resources under minority control. Fortunately, the U.S. Census of Agriculture, which has been compiled every five years since 1920, and every ten years prior to that, provides a vast store of statistical data that can be used for this purpose. This chapter offers a detailed analysis of these data, focusing particularly on the extent of minority land, its location, the trends that have affected it, and the uses now being made of it.

Since the Agricultural censuses provide the basic source of the data analyzed here, it is important to alert readers at the outset to certain peculiarities in the census data that impose limits on our analysis.

1. The agricultural census records only *land in farms*. While this includes considerable land not actually under cultivation as well as land in part-time and part-retirement farms, it excludes non-farm real estate.

2. As with any official census, enumerators inevitably miss many potential respondents. The smaller the unit, moreover, the more likely the omission. Since blacks operate generally small farms, therefore, they are more likely to be under-counted than whites.

   This under-counting problem was intensified, furthermore, at the time of the most recent (1969) census by the use of mail questionnaires instead of home visits by enumerators. As the Census Bureau itself conceded: "The 1969 coverage of part-time, part-retirement, and other low-income operations is probably less complete than for 1964 and earlier censuses. These types of operations are most likely to have been missing in the administrative records used in assembling the basic mailing list."

   While it is impossible to say with any certainty how much black-owned land has been missed as a consequence of these counting problems, the evidence available from a few spot checks in Mississippi and North Carolina suggest that this figure may be as high as 30 percent, i.e. that there is 30 percent more land in minority hands than appears in the Census.

3. Census materials differentiate between full owners and part-owners, the latter being individuals who own a portion of the land in their farms and rent the remainder. However, no state-by-state breakdown is available of the exact proportion of the land in the farms of part-owners that is owned by them, as opposed to rented. Although we have sometimes added the land shown for these two groups together, therefore, it should be borne in mind that some of the acreage shown for the part owners is not owned by them. This over-counting may compensate, however, for the under-counting discussed above.

4. In 1969, the latest year for which data are available, the Census Bureau changed its collection methods in ways that reduce the amount of information available about minority land. In particular, two different data collection forms were utilized: a 12-page form for all farms with annual sales in excess of $2,500 (so-called Class I-V farms), and a shorter 4-page form for all other farms. Since only about one-fourth of black landowners operated Class I-V farms in 1969, however, this means that we are missing considerable detail on a large number of minority landowners and can investigate detailed operating characteristics of only a portion of the minority farm enterprises.

5. There is some confusion in the Census reports in the designation of race. The 1969 and 1954 censuses reported separate totals for "Negro" and "Other Nonwhite" landowners, at least at the state level. In the 1964 reports, however, "Negro and Other Nonwhite" landowners are grouped together for reporting purposes. Although "Negro" landowners account for 85 percent of the minority land in the South, these reporting differences affect the discussion of 1964–1969 trends.

Despite their difficulties and peculiarities, however, the agricultural censuses still provide the most complete data on minority landownership available anywhere. While bearing their limitations in mind, therefore, it is still useful to explore what they can tell us about this important minority equity resource.

2 Summary of Findings

1. Approximately 67 thousand black landowners controlled close to 6 million acres of land worth about $1 billion in 14 Southern states as of 1969. Over half of this land is concentrated in the four states of Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina.
2. This volume of black-owned land, while substantial, is still only a fraction of what blacks owned 15–20 years ago. Since 1954, blacks have been losing land at the rate of 333,000 acres per year. While this rate of loss slowed a bit during the 1964–1969 period, it has still been fast enough to raise the question of whether any black-owned land will exist in the South by the year 2000 if nothing is done to reverse existing trends.
3. The pressures resulting in black land loss have been particularly severe on small, subsistence farmers. As a consequence, the decline in the number of black landowners has been accompanied by a steady rise in the average acreage of black-owned farms and in the proportion of black farm owners operating commercial farms.
4. Despite these elements of "positive" change, black landowners in the South still operate extremely small farms. As a result, the majority of black landowners are not commercial farmers, but rather operate subsistence farms or rely on their farms only to supplement their off-farm income. What is more, there is little evidence of replenishment of the black land-owning population by younger individuals. Hence, there is strong reason to expect continued land loss among blacks.
5. Because of their small holdings, black commercial farmers earn smaller profits per farm and invest in less machinery per farm than all farmowners.
6. When computed on a per acre instead of a per farm basis, however, black landowners outperform all farm owners in terms of gross profits and investments in machinery and equipment. What this indicates is that the real problem for black landowners may not be under-capitalization of their land, but over-capitalization for the given level of returns. At the same time, these figures suggest some real potential for using black-owned land to leverage capital for a minority development strategy.
7. To take advantage of this potential, however, it will be necessary to stem the tide of black land loss quickly, and explore alternative productive uses for the capital generated against the security of black-owned land.

Black-Owned Land: Profile of a Disappearing Equity Base

I. The Extent and Distribution of Black Landownership

At the time of the 1969 Agricultural Census, black farm landowners—including both full owners and part owners—numbered 66,815 out of a total population of farm landowners of 1,059,914, in the 14 states of the South. These black farm landowners farmed over five and one-half million acres of land, out of 282 million acres farmed by all farm landowners. (See Table 1)

Much of this black-controlled land is concentrated in a relative handful of states. As of 1969, for example, Mississippi alone accounted for almost one quarter of the black farm landowners in the region. Four states—Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina, and South Carolina—account for almost 60 percent of all black farm landowners and 52 percent of all black-controlled land. (See Table 2 and Maps 1–3)

Table 1

Extent of Black Landownership in 14 Southern States, 1969

	Total		Black Full Owners		Black Part Owners	
	Nonwhite Landowners	As % of all Landowners	Total Number	As % of all full owners	Total Number	As % of all part owners
Number	**66,815**	**6.3%**	**51,757**	**6.32%**	**15,058**	**6.23%**
Acres	**5,640,962**	**2.0%**	**3,779,317**	**2.56%**	**1,869,645**	**1.38%**
Acres per farm	**84.5**	**31.7%**	**73.0**	**40.6%**	**124.2**	**22.2%**

Table 2

Distribution of Black Farm Landowners and Acres of Black-Owned Farm Land Among 14 Southern States, 1969

	Total Black Landowners		Black Full Owners				Black Part Owners			
	Number	%	Number	%	Acres	%	Number	%	Acres	%
Alabama	7,226	10.8	5,486	10.6	440,791	11.7	1,740	11.6	196,078	10.5
Arkansas	3,013	4.5	2,153	4.2	139,029	3.7	860	5.7	147,186	7.9
Florida	1,243	1.9	953	1.8	78,043	2.1	290	1.9	55,334	3.0
Georgia	4,450	6.7	3,477	6.7	403,463	10.7	973	6.5	175,010	9.4
Kentucky	1,585	2.4	1,341	2.6	82,105	2.2	244	1.6	24,176	1.3
Louisiana	3,884	5.8	3,034	5.9	170,838	4.5	850	5.6	102,942	5.5
Mississippi	14,527	21.7	12,222	23.6	949,310	25.1	2,305	15.3	313,042	16.7
Missouri	358	0.5	282	0.5	32,987	0.9	76	0.5	14,212	0.8
North Carolina	9,687	14.5	7,107	13.7	373,929	9.8	2,580	17.2	184,932	9.8
South Carolina	7,514	11.2	5,595	10.8	310,371	8.2	1,919	12.7	169,674	9.1
Tennessee	3,890	5.8	2,998	5.8	182,624	4.8	892	5.9	102,611	5.5
Texas	4,747	7.1	3,720	7.2	357,538	9.5	1,027	6.8	222,120	11.9
Virginia	4,646	7.0	3,356	6.5	255,054	6.7	1,290	8.6	155,620	8.3
West Virginia	45	0.1	33	0.1	3,233	0.1	12	0.1	6,708	0.3
Total	**66,815**	**100.0**	**51,757**	**100.0**	**3,779,315**	**100.0**	**15,058**	**100.0**	**1,869,645**	**100.0**

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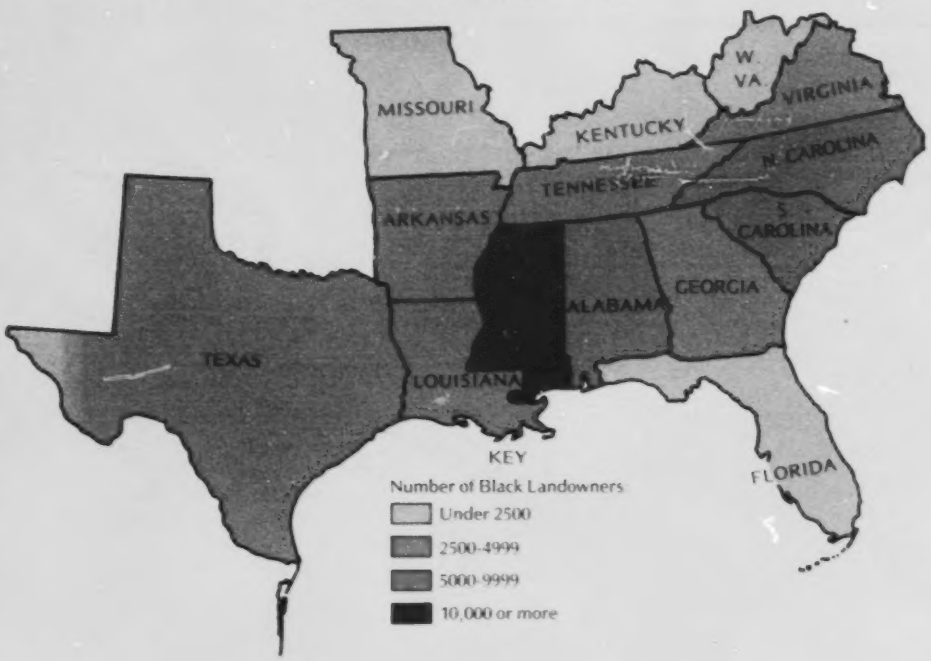
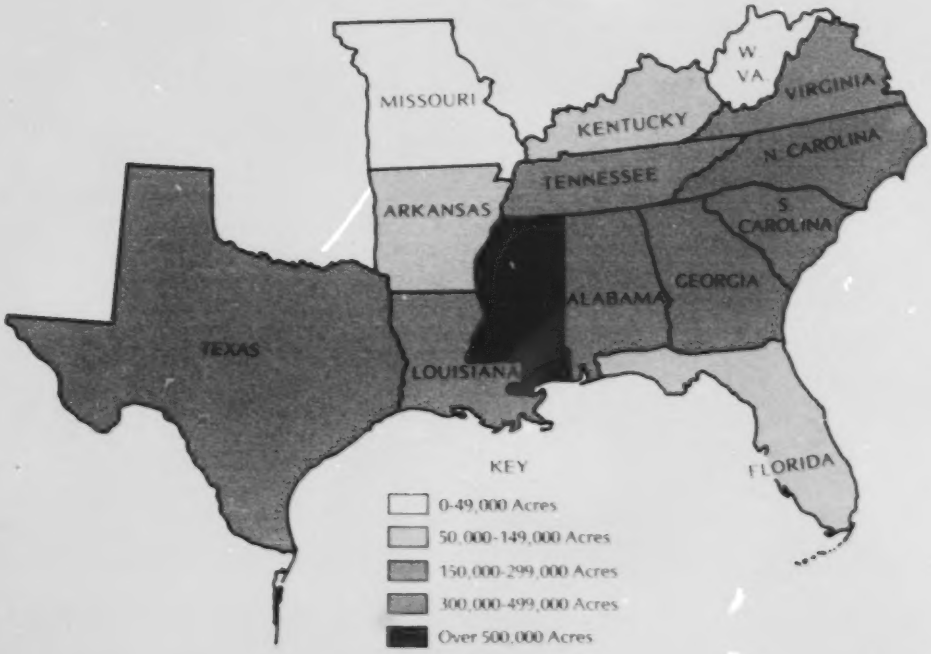
Map 1
Distribution of Black Farm Landowners (Full Owners and Part Owners)
Among 14 Southern States, 1969



Map 2
Distribution of Land Owned by Black Full Owners
in 14 Southern States, 1969



Map 3
Distribution of Land in Farms of Black Part Owners in 14 Southern States, 1969

Black-owned land is not only concentrated among a handful of states, but also is concentrated *within* them. As shown on the map facing page one above, only 492 of the more than 1,000 counties in the South contain as much as 2,000 acres of black-owned land. And of these counties, 92 contain in excess of 20,000 acres each.

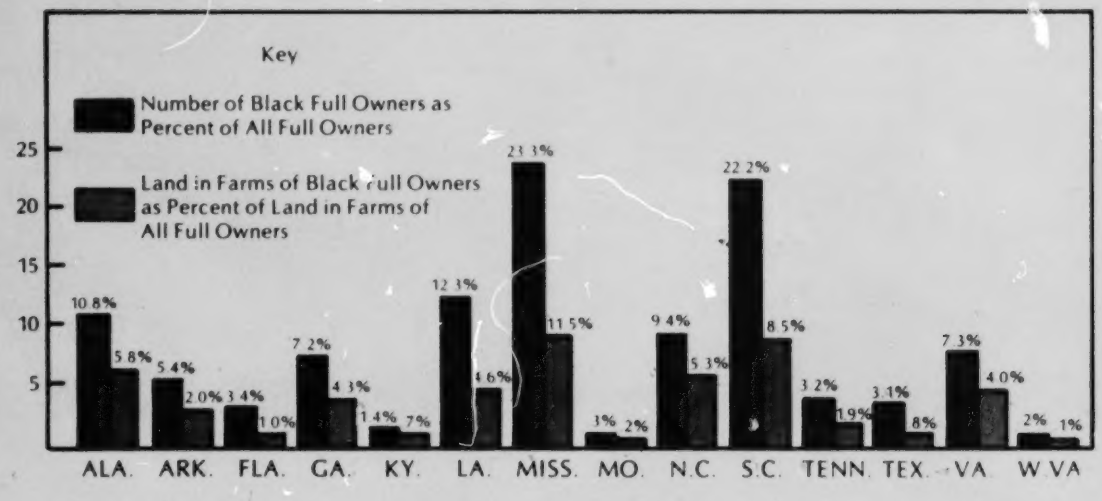
Although blacks constitute only slightly over 6 percent of all farm landowners in the South as a whole, therefore, they comprise a much more substantial proportion of all landowners in these several states. In Mississippi and South Carolina, for example, over 20 percent of all farm landowners are black. In Alabama, Louisiana, and North Carolina, about 10 percent are black. In none of these states, however, is the acreage held by blacks proportional to the number of black landowners. This pattern points to one of the central characteristics of black-owned farms in the South: their relatively small size. Only in Missouri, where there are few black-owned farms, does the average size of the farms of black full owners reach even 60 percent of the average size of the farms of *all* full owners. Elsewhere, black fully-owned and part-owned farms are typically only about half as large as all full- or part-owned farms. As a consequence, in every state black landowners account for a significantly smaller share of the *land* owned by all landowners than they do of the number of landowners, as Table 3 and Figure 1 vividly reveal.

Table 3

Black Full Owners as Percent of All Full Owners, and as Percent of Land in Farms of All Full Owners, 14 Southern States, 1969

	Black Full Owners as % of all Full Owners	Average Size of Black Full Owner Farms as % of Average Size of All Full Owner Farms	Total Acreage in Farms of Black Full Owners as % of Total Acreage in Farms of All Full Owners
Alabama	10.8%	53.6%	5.8%
Arkansas	5.4	36.6	2.0
Florida	3.4	29.9	1.0
Georgia	7.2	59.1	4.3
Kentucky	1.4	52.8	0.7
Louisiana	12.3	36.8	4.6
Mississippi	23.3	49.2	11.5
Missouri	0.3	64.4	0.2
North Carolina	9.4	56.5	5.3
South Carolina	22.2	38.0	8.5
Tennessee	3.2	57.8	1.9
Texas	3.1	26.2	0.8
Virginia	7.3	54.9	4.0
West Virginia	0.2	59.4	0.1
Total	**6.3%**	**41.3%**	**2.6%**

Figure 1
Black Full Owners as Percent of all Full Owners and as Percent of all Land Owned by all Full Owners in 14 Southern States, 1969



Black farm landowners thus constitute a significant segment of the farm-owning population of numerous Southern states, but their share of the land is significantly below what their numbers would suggest. Even so, their holdings constitute a sizeable pool of accumulated savings and hence a significant minority equity resource. Indeed, as Table 4 shows, just the black-owned farms that fall in the Class 1–5 category (the only ones for which data are available) had a value of almost $328 million as of 1969, and these represented only 17 percent of all black-owned farms.

Table 4

Average Value of Land and Buildings of Black Full Owners of Class 1–5 Farms in 13 Southern States, 1969

	Acres in Farms	Average Value Per Acre	Total Value
Alabama	119,876	$163.9	$ 19,659,664
Arkansas	55,521	295.8	16,423,111
Florida	35,471	270.1	9,580,717
Georgia	119,440	200.3	39,947,832
Kentucky	45,942	277.7	12,758,093
Louisiana	56,116	277.8	15,589,024
Mississippi	272,017	212.4	57,776,410
Missouri	NA	NA	NA
North Carolina	194,935	289.7	56,472,669
South Carolina	91,574	272.3	24,935,600
Tennessee	68,798	270.5	18,609,859
Texas	125,865	248.1	31,227,106
Virginia	112,716	217.8	24,549,544
West Virginia	771	308.7	238,008
Total	1,299,642	$252.3	$327,769,000

II. Trends in Black Landownership, 1954–1969

1. Decline in the Number of Black Landowners

One of the most distressing features of this resource, however, has been the speed at which it has been disappearing. Between 1954 and 1969, as we have already noted, the number of black full owners dropped from 125,831 to 51,757—a decline of 58.9 percent—while the number of black part owners declined from 49,555 to 15,058—a decline of 69.6 percent.

These trends have been pronounced in virtually every Southern state, moreover, as Table 5 and Map 4 clearly demonstrate. In only three states was the decline in the number of black farm landowners (full owners and part owners combined) less than 50 percent between 1954 and 1969. In six of the states, 70 percent or more of the black landowners lost their land during this 15 year period.

Nor do these trends give any sign of abating. During the most recent five year period for which data are available—1964 to 1969—the number of black full owners declined 24.1 percent, and the number of black part owners plummeted 50.3 percent. Paradoxically, this was the very period when a whole series of active new governmental efforts to assist the poor were inaugurated. Whatever their general effects, these measures seem to have provided little relief to the critically important pool of Southern black farmowners whose accumulated savings in the form of land have long constituted the only sizeable equity resource available to blacks in the South.

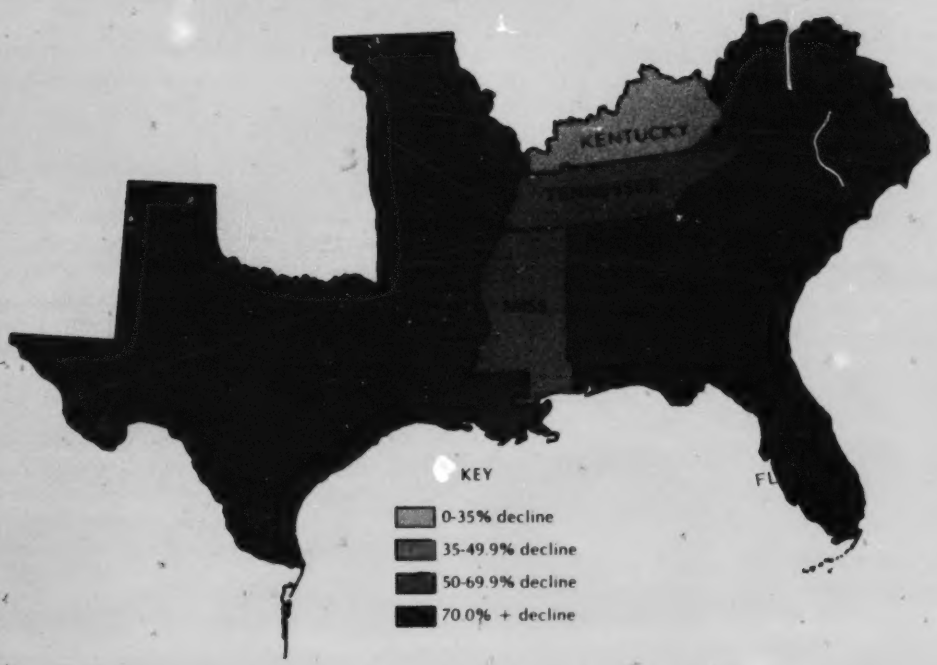
Table 5

Decline in the Number of Black Landowners and in the Acres in Farms of Black Landowners, 14 Southern States, 1954–1969

	Number of Black Landowners			Acres in Farms of Black Landowners		
	1954	1969	% Change	1954	1969	% Change
Alabama	18,408	7,226	−60.7%	1,262,583	636,859	−49.6%
Arkansas	9,894	3,013	−69.5	659,081	286,215	−56.6
Florida	4,536	1,243	−72.6	242,530	133,377	−45.0
Georgia	12,049	4,450	−63.1	1,126,378	578,473	−48.6
Kentucky	2,432	1,585	−34.8	129,538	106,281	−18.0
Louisiana	12,783	3,884	−69.6	578,661	273,780	−57.9
Mississippi	27,746	14,527	−47.6	1,971,540	1,262,352	−36.0
Missouri	934	358	−61.7	69,912	47,199	−32.5
North Carolina	22,625	9,687	−57.2	1,085,750	558,861	−48.5
South Carolina	21,670	7,514	−65.3	909,050	480,045	−51.9
Tennessee	7,215	3,890	−46.1	419,591	285,235	−32.0
Texas	18,877	4,747	−74.9	1,184,183	579,658	−51.0
Virginia	15,957	4,646	−70.9	877,100	410,674	−53.2
West Virginia	260	45	−82.7	13,470	9,941	−26.2
Total	175,386	66,815	−61.9%	10,619,367	5,648,[illegible]	−46.8%

Map 4

Decline in the Number of Black Farm Landowners in the South, 1954-1969



8

To be sure, white landowners also declined during the 15 year period under scrutiny here. Yet, black losses were disproportionately large: fifteen percent of all full owners who left farming during this period and 32 percent of all part owners who left were blacks, even though blacks comprised only 9.6 percent of all full owners and 14 percent of all part owners when the period began. Whatever the causes of the decline in the number of farm landowners in the South during the 1954–1969 period, in other words, the effects of these factors were proportionately greater on blacks than on whites.

2. Increase in the Average Acreage of Black-Owned Farms

Not all black farmowners shared equally in this decline, however. In the first place, the drop was most severe among the smallest black landowners. This is apparent in Table 5 and Figure 2, which show that the *number* of black farmowners declined more sharply than did the number of *acres* in farms of black landowners between 1954 and 1969 (61.9 percent vs. 46.8 percent). In the recent 1964–1969 period, this disparity was even more pronounced, as the number of black landowners declined 32.2 percent while the acreage in black-owned farms declined a more limited 16.9 percent, or proportionately half as much. As a result of these trends, there has been a steady rise in the average size of black-owned farms. Indeed, as Figure 3 reveals, between 1954 and 1969 the average acreage of farms of black full owners increased 30.1 percent, while that of black part owners increased 72.7 percent.

Figure 2
Decline in Number of Black Farmowners and in Amount of Black-Owned Land, 14 Southern States, 1969

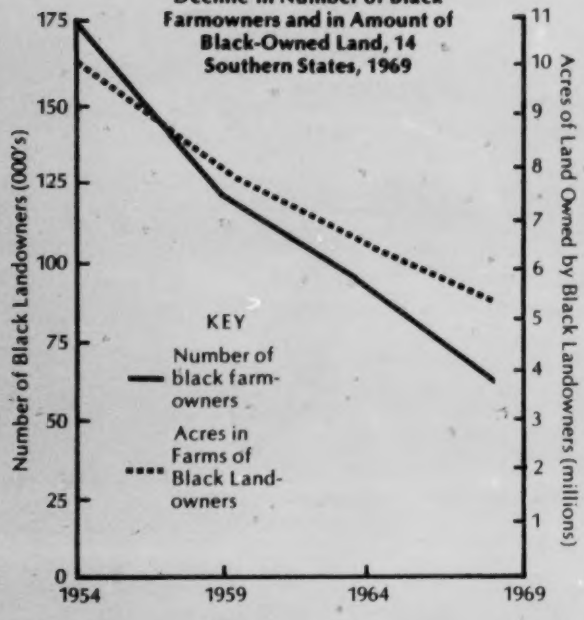
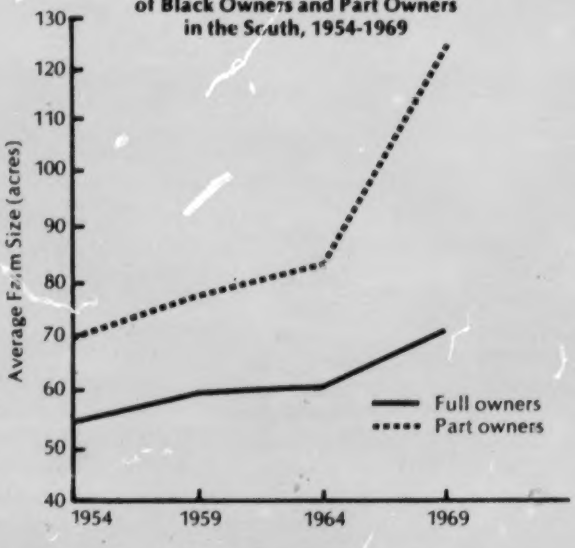


Figure 3
Change in Average Acreage per Farm of Black Owners and Part Owners in the South, 1954-1969



The increase in average farm acreage of black landowners has not been uniform throughout the South, however, as Table 6 and Maps 5 and 6 demonstrate. For example, the rise in the average acreage of farms of black full owners varied from 13.1 percent in Arkansas to 124.6 percent in West Virginia, while that for black part owners varied from 36.6 percent in North Carolina to a high of 55.3 percent in West Virginia. In general, the states with the largest concentrations of black farmowners (chiefly Mississippi, South Carolina, and North Carolina) registered the smallest proportional increases in the average acreage of black landowners—undoubtedly because most of the numerous black landowners in these states control small holdings.

Despite the rise in average acreage per farm recorded during the 1954–1969 period, however, the typical black-owned farm still constitutes an extremely small-scale operation. In fact, as Table 7 shows, the average fully-owned black farm as of 1969, though 30 percent larger than its counterpart 15 years earlier, was still only 40 percent as large as the average size of all full owner farms. Black part owners were slightly better off with farms averaging 124.2 acres (compared to 73.0 acres for black full owners), but the farms of *all* part owners were almost five times as large. (See Table 7).

This pattern holds true throughout the South, moreover, although more so in some states than others, as Table 7 and Figure 4 reveal. Black full owners in North Carolina, for example, control parcels averaging 52 acres while those in Georgia and Missouri have parcels more than twice as large. Nevertheless, only in Missouri does the average size of black full owner farms come even within 65 percent of the average size of all full owner farms; and only in Tennessee does the average size of black part owner farms reach even 50 percent of the av-

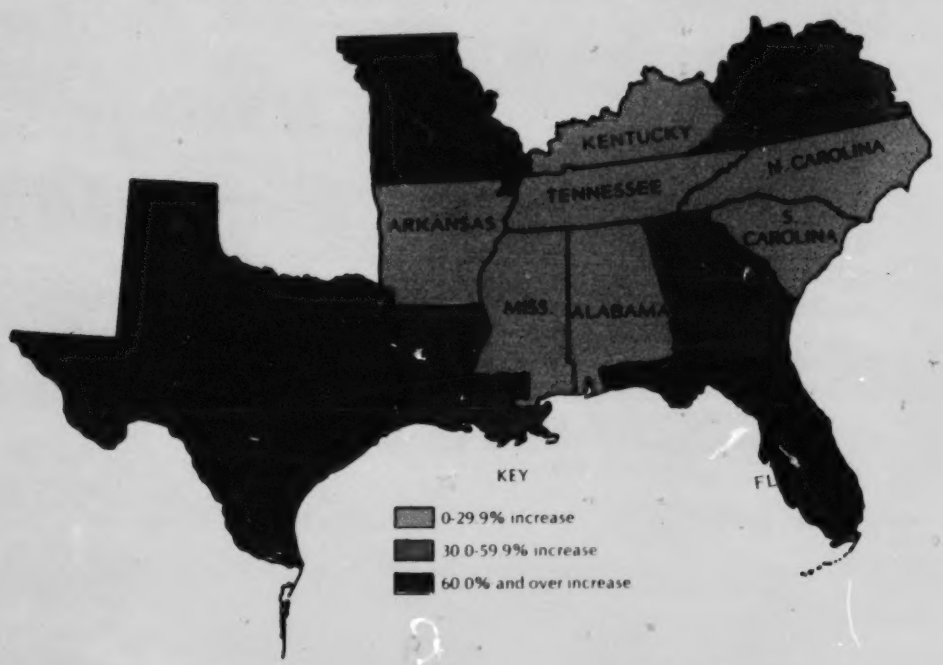
erage size of all part owner farms. In short, the disproportionate loss of the smallest black-owned farms has left behind a group of farms that are substantially larger on average than the ones that existed fifteen years earlier, however, they are probably not sufficiently larger to give us any confidence that we have reached some sort of plateau beyond which further declines in the number of black farmowners will slow down—unless the remaining small owners have side occupations that provide income in addition to that earned on the farm.

Table 6

Average Acreage Per Farm of Black Owners and Part Owners, 14 Southern States, 1954–1969

	Full Owners					Part Owners				
	1969 (acres)	1964 (acres)	1959 (acres)	1954 (acres)	% change 1954–1969	1969 (acres)	1964 (acres)	1959 (acres)	1954 (acres)	% change 1954–1969
Alabama	80.3	69.7	69.5	64.0	+ 25.5%	112.7	79.6	78.5	78.0	+ 44.5%
Arkansas	64.6	56.8	59.6	57.1	+ 13.1	171.1	120.5	98.8	96.6	+ 77.1
Florida	87.9	54.0	56.1	48.1	+ 70.2	190.8	99.1	87.6	73.4	+159.9
Georgia	116.0	90.9	96.4	86.9	+ 33.5	179.9	133.8	131.5	115.9	+ 55.2
Kentucky	61.2	53.2	48.2	48.8	+ 25.4	99.1	67.3	66.0	65.5	+ 51.3
Louisiana	56.3	44.6	41.8	39.8	+ 41.5	121.1	71.6	66.5	65.5	+ 84.9
Mississippi	77.6	70.4	71.3	68.4	+ 13.5	135.8	89.1	94.5	79.4	+ 71.0
Missouri	117.0	76.1	73.3	61.6	+ 89.9	187.0	213.1	153.9	120.9	+ 54.7
North Carolina	52.6	47.4	47.3	45.3	+ 16.1	71.7	61.3	60.4	52.5	+ 36.6
South Carolina	55.5	50.2	51.4	44.9	+ 23.6	88.4	56.9	52.7	48.5	+ 82.2
Tennessee	60.9	58.6	54.7	54.8	+ 11.1	115.0	75.9	77.9	65.2	+ 76.4
Texas	96.1	65.9	63.4	53.1	+ 80.9	216.3	127.7	99.5	88.5	+144.4
Virginia	76.0	63.8	59.0	50.3	+ 51.1	120.6	84.7	78.8	73.5	+ 64.1
West Virginia	98.0	78.5	57.3	43.7	+124.6	559.0	151.9	18.0	85.7	+551.3
Total	**73.0**	**62.1**	**61.7**	**56.1**	**+ 30.1%**	**124.2**	**84.0**	**79.4**	**71.9**	**+ 72.7%**

Map 5
Change in the Average Acreage of Farms of Black Full Owners in the South, 1954-1969



Map 6
Change in the Average Acreage of Farms of Black Part Owners in the South, 1954-1969

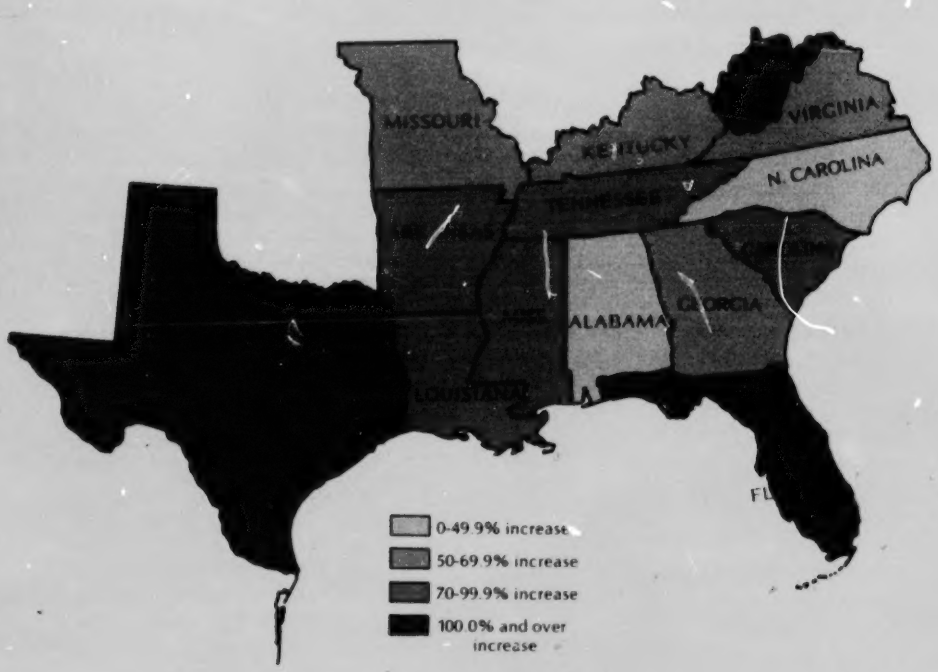
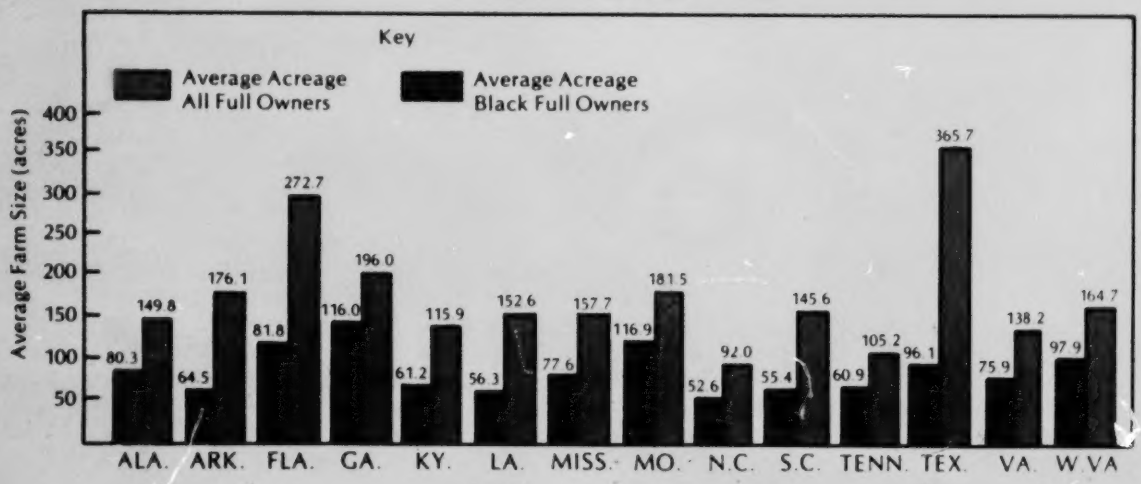


Table 7

Average Acreage Per Farm of Black Farm Landowners and All Farm Landowners in 14 Southern States, All Farms, 1969

	Full Owners			Part Owners		
	Non-white (acres)	All Full Owners (acres)	NW as % of Total	Non-whites (acres)	All Full Owners (acres)	NW as % of Total
Alabama	80.3	149.8	53.6%	112.6	353.6	31.8%
Arkansas	64.5	176.1	36.6	171.1	475.3	35.9
Florida	81.8	272.7	29.9	190.8	987.8	19.3
Georgia	116.0	196.0	59.1	179.8	413.3	43.5
Kentucky	61.2	115.9	52.8	99.0	205.5	48.1
Louisiana	56.3	152.6	36.8	121.1	411.2	29.4
Mississippi	77.6	157.7	49.2	135.8	471.8	28.7
Missouri	116.9	181.5	64.4	187.0	422.3	44.2
North Carolina	52.6	93.0	56.5	71.6	170.7	41.9
South Carolina	55.4	145.6	38.0	88.4	306.3	28.8
Tennessee	60.9	105.2	57.8	115.0	222.7	51.6
Texas	96.1	365.7	26.2	216.2	1,262.9	17.1
Virginia	75.9	138.2	54.9	120.6	279.0	43.2
West Virginia	97.9	164.7	59.4	N.A.	335.9	N.A.
Total	**73.0**	**179.8**	**40.6%**	**124.2**	**559.9**	**22.2%**

Figure 4
Average Acreage Per Farm, Black Full Owners and all Full Owners, 1969



3. Increase in the Proportion of Black-Owned Commercial Farms

Not only has the recent decline of black farmowners hit the smallest owners most severely, but also it has affected the subsistence farmers more extensively than the "commercial" ones. Historically, considerably less than half of all black farm landowners have operated "commercial farms"—defined by the Census Bureau as farms that sell over $2,500 worth of produce yearly or sell $50–$2,500 yearly if the owner is under 65 and does not work off the farm 100 days or more in the Census year. During the recent years of crisis for black landowners, however, the blacks who owned "commercial farms" managed to weather the storm somewhat better than black landowners generally. Between 1959 and 1969, for example, the number of black-owned farms of all types dropped from 123,682 to 66,815, a decline of 46.0 percent. During the same period, the number of black-owned commercial farms declined from 51,752 to 31,743, a decline of 38.7 percent. (See Table 8) As a result, the proportion of black-owned commercial farms increased from 41.8 percent to 47.5 percent of all black-owned farms between 1959 and 1969—an increase of 13.6 percent.

When we focus on the more substantial Class 1–5 farms, those with sales in excess of $2,500, this pattern is even more striking. While *all* black-owned farms declined by 46.0 percent between 1959 and 1969, the number of black-owned Class 1–5 farms declined by a considerably smaller 21.1 percent. As a result, these more commercialized operations accounted for almost 26 percent of all black-owned farms by 1969, compared to 17.6 percent ten years earlier—an increase of 46 percent. (See Table 8)

Table 8

Changes in the Number of Black-Owned Farms in Different Economic Classes, Southwide, 1959–1969

	1969	1959	% Change 1959–1969
All Farms	66,815	123,682	−46.0%
Commercial Farms			
Number	31,743	51,752	−38.7
As % of Total	47.5%	41.8%	+13.6
Class 1-5 Farms			
Number	17,191	21,785	−21.1
As % of Total	25.7%	17.6%	+46.0%

Paradoxically, therefore, the widespread displacement of black farm landowners may have left a more solid—if considerably smaller—base of black landowners behind.

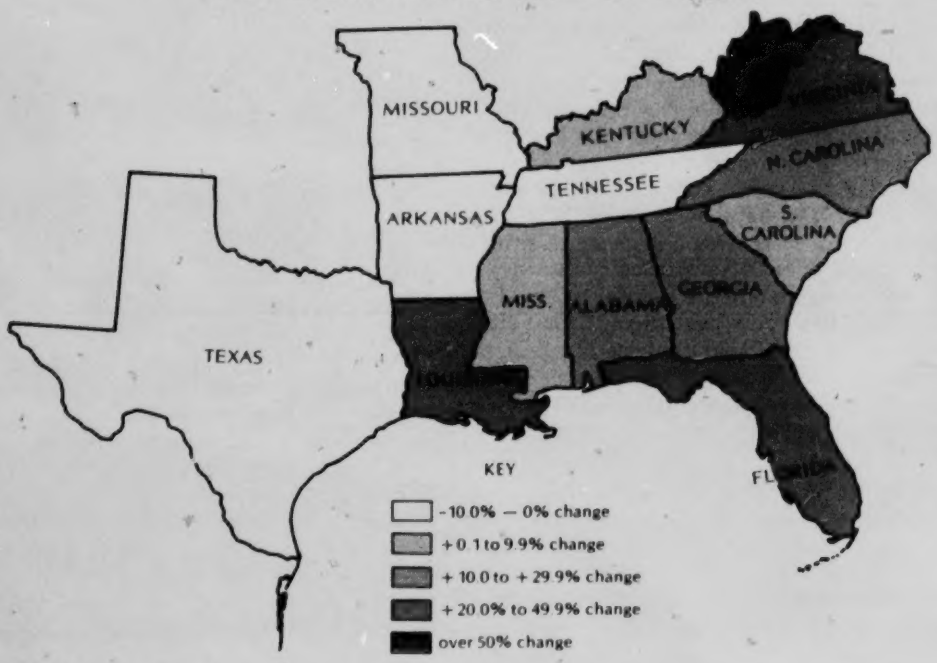
As in the case of the other dimensions of black landownership described already, this overall pattern of increased proportions of commercial farmers disguises considerbale variations from state to state, as Table 9 and Map 7 reveal. In two states (Tennessee and Texas), for example, the proportion of black-owned farms that are commercial farms declined between 1959 and 1969, while in Mississippi the proportion remained virtually unchanged. By contrast, this proportion rose 44.0 percent in Georgia, 43.7 percent in Virginia, and 254.3 percent in West Virginia. As a consequence, the states ended the period with significantly disparate proportions of black-owned farms that are "commerical," ranging from a low of 34.1 percent of all black-owned farms in

Table 9

Changes in the Number of Black-Owned Farms in Different Economic Classes, by State, 1959–1969

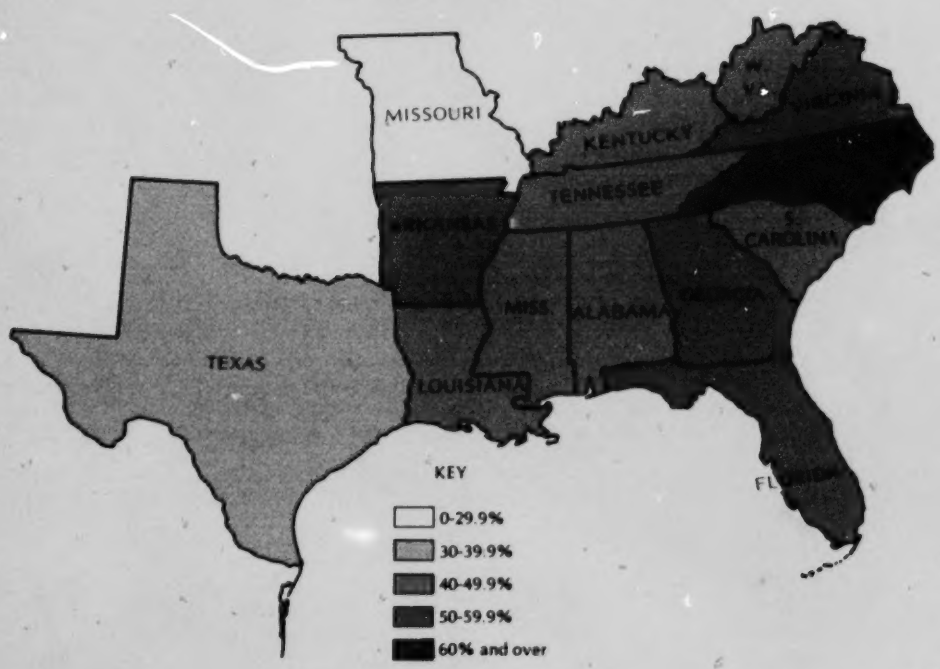
	1969					1959					
	All Farms	Commrcl. Farms (Class 1–6)	Commrcl. as % of Total	Class 1–5 Farms	Class 1–5 as % of Total	All Farms	Commrcl. Farms (Class 1–6)	Commrcl. as % of Total	Class 1–5 Farms	Class 1–5 as % of Total	Change in % of Commrcl. Farms 1959–1969
Alabama	7,226	2,984	41.3%	1,098	15.2%	13,209	4,816	36.5%	1,020	7.7%	+ 13.2%
Arkansas	3,013	1,598	53.0	1,008	33.5	6,665	3,010	45.2	1,680	25.2	+ 17.3
Florida	1,243	622	50.0	362	29.1	2,986	1,011	33.9	396	13.3	+ 47.5
Georgia	4,450	2,359	53.0	1,576	35.4	8,094	3,631	44.9	1,609	19.9	+ 18.0
Kentucky	1,585	771	48.6	500	31.5	2,155	970	45.0	490	22.7	+ 8.0
Louisiana	3,884	1,896	48.8	851	21.9	8,666	2,936	33.9	851	9.8	+ 44.0
Mississippi	14,527	6,252	43.0	2,400	16.5	22,635	9,509	42.0	2,983	13.2	+ 2.4
Missouri	358	202	56.4	156	43.6	647	297	45.9	176	27.2	+ 22.9
North Carolina	9,687	5,903	60.9	4,152	42.9	17,340	9,144	52.7	5,129	29.6	+ 15.6
South Carolina	7,514	3,306	44.0	1,648	21.9	14,218	5,805	40.8	2,080	14.6	+ 7.8
Tennessee	3,890	1,720	44.2	914	23.5	5,371	2,511	46.8	1,111	20.7	− 5.6
Texas	4,747	1,620	34.1	801	16.9	11,856	4,473	37.7	2,641	22.3	− 9.5
Virginia	4,646	2,488	53.6	1,715	36.9	9,695	3,619	37.3	1,619	16.7	+ 43.7
West Virginia	45	22	48.9	10	22.2	145	20	13.8	—	0	+254.3
Total	**66,815**	**31,743**	**47.5%**	**17,191**	**25.7%**	**123,682**	**51,752**	**41.8%**	**21,785**	**17.6%**	**+13.6%**

Map 7
Changes in the Proportion of Black Owned Commercial Farms to all Black-Owned Farms in 14 Southern States, 1959-1969



Texas to a high of 60.9 percent in North Carolina. (See Table 9 and Map 8). Interestingly, many black landowners in the richest agricultural states of the South—like Mississippi, Texas, and South Carolina—remain outside the commercial system, apparently operating marginal farms in the poorer soil regions of these states. Yet, the non-commercial segment of the black landholding population has clearly declined more rapidly than the commercial segment, suggesting that the remaining cadre of black landowners may constitute a firmer foundation for development activities than might have been the case earlier. Whether this is so, however, depends in part on what we discover about the character of the enterprises being conducted on the black-owned commercial farms.

Map 8
Proportion of Black Owned Commercial Farms to all Black Owned Farms in 14 Southern States, 1969



4. Declining Proportion of Part Owners to Full Owners

A third group of black farmowners that has been hit disproportionately hard during the recent drop in black landowners have been the part owners. Part owners, it will be remembered, are those operators who own a portion of the land in their farms, but lease the remainder. As Table 1 above suggested, part owners tend to operate significantly more substantial farms. As of 1969, for example, the average farm of a black part owner contained 124.2 acres, compared to the much smaller 73.0 acres for full owners. Nevertheless, as Table 10 demonstrates, the number of black part owners declined more sharply than the number of full owners during the 1954–1969 period (69.6 percent vs. 56.9 percent). Curiously, moreover, most of this disproportionate loss occurred during the most recent five year period, 1964–1969. As indicated in Table 10, the proportion of black part owners increased slowly but steadily between 1954 and 1964, from 28.3 percent to 30.7 percent of all black landowners, but then declined sharply to 22.5 percent between 1964 and 1969. What seems to have happened is that black part owners who had been renting additional property in 1964 lost their access to this property between 1964 and 1969 and were reduced to farming only their own land. Whether this happened by choice, because of the changing racial climate that strained black-white relations, or because of extraneous changes that gave the owners of these additional lands an incentive to stop leasing them to black farmowners is unclear. However, the fact that there was no corresponding decline among white part owners suggests that the last of these explanations is least likely.

Table 10

Changes in the Proportion of Black Part Owners to All Black Landowners, 1954–1969

	1954	1959	1964	1969	% change 1954–1969	% change 1964–1969
Black Full Owners	125,831	87,118	68,425	51,757	−58.9	−24.3
Black Part Owners	49,555	36,564	30,352	15,051	−69.6	−50.4
All Black Landowners	197,386	123,682	98,777	69,815	−61.9	−32.4
Part Owners as % of total	**28.3%**	**29.6%**	**30.7%**	**22.5%**	**−20.5%**	**−26.7%**

As Table 11 and Figure 5 suggest, moreover, this disproportionately large drop in the number of black part owners between 1964 and 1969 was fairly widespread, though it was most extreme in Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Whatever the cause, this development has seriously undermined an important segment of black landowners in the South by depriving them of rental land that was apparently important in maintaining the economic viability of farm operations conducted on their *own* land as well.

Table 11

Changes in the Proportion of Black Part Owners to All Black Landowners, by State, 14 Southern States, 1964–1969

	Total Black Landowners			Black Part-Owners			Part-Owners as % of Total	
	1964	1969	% change 1964–1969	1964	1969	% change 1964-1969	1964	1969
Alabama	10,898	7,226	−33.7%	3,791	1,740	−54.1%	34.8%	24.1%
Arkansas	4,823	3,013	−37.5	1,358	860	−36.6	28.2	28.5
Florida	2,383	1,243	−47.8	631	290	−54.0	26.5	23.3
Georgia	6,164	4,450	−27.8	1,586	973	−38.6	25.7	21.9
Kentucky	1,718	1,585	− 7.7	520	244	−53.1	30.3	15.4
Louisiana	7,044	3,884	−44.9	1,593	850	−46.6	22.6	21.9
Mississippi	19,121	14,527	−24.0	4,687	2,305	−50.8	24.5	15.9
Missouri	542	358	−33.9	131	76	−41.9	24.2	21.2
North Carolina	13,371	9,687	−27.6	5,651	2,580	−54.3	42.3	26.6
South Carolina	10,947	7,514	−31.4	3,626	1,919	−47.0	33.1	25.5
Tennessee	4,454	3,890	−12.7	1,618	892	−44.8	36.3	22.9
Texas	9,804	4,747	−51.6	2,377	1,027	−56.7	24.2	21.6
Virginia	7,425	4,646	−37.4	2,768	1,290	−53.3	37.3	27.8
West Virginia	83	45	−45.8	15	12	−20.0	18.1	26.7
Total	**98,777**	**66,818**	**−32.4%**	**30,352**	**15,050**	**−50.3%**	**30.7%**	**22.5%**

5. Increased Age Structure of Black Farmowners

A final trend worth noting about black farmowners has been the steady rise in their age structure. As Table 12 indicates, more than half of all black full owners were over 55 years old as of 1964, and this figure rose even further by 1969. In fact, this table probably *understates* the aging of the black farmowning population for two reasons: first, it reports only on commercial farms, which is where the younger black farmers are likely to be; and second, the 1969 figures are available only for the Class 1–5 commercial farms, thus omitting the equally numerous, but less profitable, Class 6 operations which are less likely to be run by younger black farmers. Quite clearly, blacks in the most productive age brackets—35–54 years—are leaving the land even more rapidly than black farmers as a whole.

Figure 5
Black Part Owners as Proportion of all Black Landowners in 14 Southern States, 1964 vs. 1969

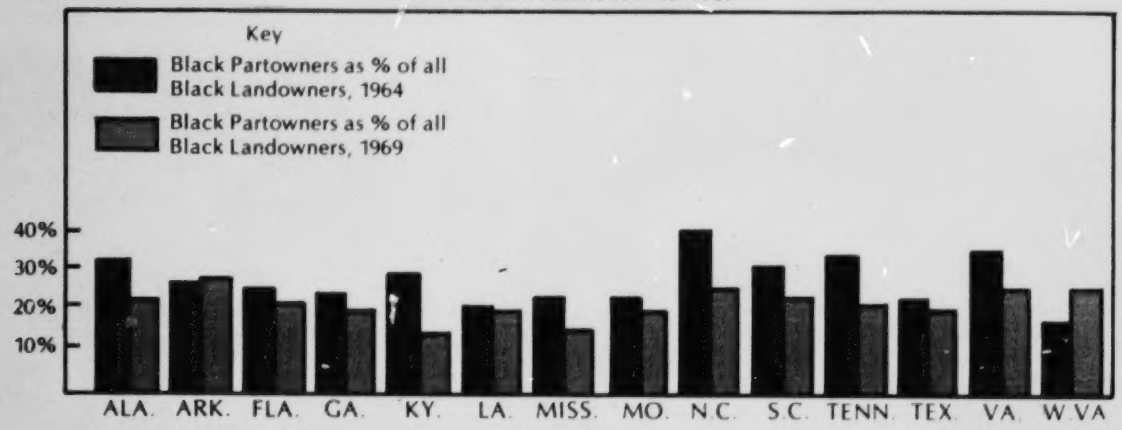


Table 12

Change in the Age Structure of Black Full Owners in the South, 1964–1969

	1964[a]		1969[b]	
	Number	%	Number	%
Under 35	999	3.5	515	5.3
35-54	11,585	40.2	3,489	35.6
55 and over	16,237	56.3	5,788	59.1
Total	**28,821**	**100.0%**	**9,792**	**100.0%**

[a]Figures for 1964 are for owners of Class 1-6 farms
[b]Figures for 1969 are for owners of Class 1-5 farms only.

6. Conclusions

Between 1954 and 1969, therefore, the population of black landowners in the South dropped dramatically, and blacks lost control of millions of acres of land representing decades of accumulated savings. This decline was particularly severe, moreover, for the more marginal of black owners, those operating smaller, subsistence farms. The overall decline of black landownership thus paradoxically left behind a somewhat stronger base of black landowners, as shown by the larger average acreage per farm and the higher proportion of commercial farmers. Nevertheless, neither of these "positive" consequences was sufficiently pronounced to overcome the historic disadvantages of black farmowners. What is more, the disproportionately sharp drop in the number of black part owners between 1964 and 1969, and the overall rise in the average age of black farmowners throughout the period, raise additional questions about how secure even the remaining base of black-owned land is.

From the point of view of using black-owned land in a minority development strategy, however, what is important about the current base of black-owned land is not only its viability in supporting profitable agricultural endeavors but also its potential as an equity base to generate capital for non-agricultural pursuits as well. From this perspective, the fact that most black landowners operate exceedingly small farms and are not engaged in commercial agriculture is not necessarily the most relevant fact, so long as these non-commercial small farmers have sufficiently lucrative outside employment to enable them to retain title to their land. What is more relevant is: first, the extent to which black-owned land—commercially farmed or not—is situated in locales experiencing rising property values; second, the nature of the property-owning patterns among blacks—i.e. the secureness of titles, the compactness and contiguousness of parcels, and the distribution of ownership rights among heirs; and third, the recent experience of black landowners in securing credit.

The first and second of these issues cannot be treated meaningfully in a state-wide analysis of the sort presented here. They will therefore be addressed in a subsequent report, and even there they can be dealt with only partially because of the absence of comprehensive data. It is possible here, however, to treat the third issue, the recent experience of black landowners in generating capital against the security represented by their land. Although this experience may not, by itself, tell us everything we need to know about the potential for using black-owned land as an equity resource, it can at least give some indication of the extent to which existing financial institutions have been willing to advance capital to black landowners, and hence provide some insight into the extent to which new credit facilities would be needed to take full advantage of the equity leveraging power of black-owned land.

The data sources available for this assessment are far from perfect, however. The 1969 Census of Agriculture did not collect comprehensive debt statistics by race and

tenure group. It did, however, collect statistics on farm income, production expenses, and equipment value from which it is possible to piece together some valuable insights into the equity leveraging experience of black-owned land. But these statistics were collected only for Class 1–5 farms, those with sales in excess of $2,500. Since these are the only black-owned farms likely to have been able to support any substantial debt, however, this restriction is not that serious for the purposes at hand. What is more, a detailed assessment of the economic viability of black-owned commercial farms is valuable in its own right, for the light it can shed on the staying power of this crucial segment of black farmowners.

The following section therefore examines in detail the operations of black-owned Class 1–5 farms in 13 Southern states.[1*] Of interest here are two general issues: first, given the size of the plots available to them, to what extent are these black-owned commercial farms viable agricultural enterprises? and second, to what extent have black farmowners in these commercial classes succeeded in securing credit to finance their operations?

III. Black-Owned Commercial Farms: Economic Characteristics and Capital Leveraging Experience

1. Extent and Distribution of Black-Owned Commercial Farms

As we have already noted, blacks are disproportionately under-represented among owners of commercial farms in the South—a fact that flows directly from the small size of their holdings. Thus, as Table 13 indicates, blacks comprise 6.3 percent of all farm landowners in the South, but only 5.0 percent of the landowners operating "commercial farms," and 3.3 percent of those operating Class 1-5 farms. In other words, only about 17,000 of the 68,000 black landowners operated farms that produced more than $2,500 worth of products for sale in 1969. And almost one-fourth of these, as Table 14 and Map 9 indicate, were located in North Carolina, where small tobacco farms still thrive. Even in North Carolina, however, blacks comprise a smaller share of the Class 1–5 owners than they do of all landowners; and a comparison of Map 10 with Map 4 shows that this pattern is true in every other state as well.

Even among Class 1–5 owner-operators, moreover, blacks are proportionately under-represented in the higher classes and over-represented in the lower ones. As Figure 6 demonstrates, except for a minor variation in West Virginia, the proportion of blacks declines as we ascend the scale of farm operations in every state.

* Footnotes to Part One can be found on p. 27.

Table 13

Representation of Black Landowners Among All Landowners in Different Economic Classes, Southwide, 1969

	Black Landowners	All Landowners	Blacks as % of Total
All Farms	**66,815**	**1,089,914**	**6.3%**
Commercial Farms	**31,743**	**630,371**	**5.0**
Class 1-5 Farms	**17,191**	**514,776**	**3.3**

Table 14

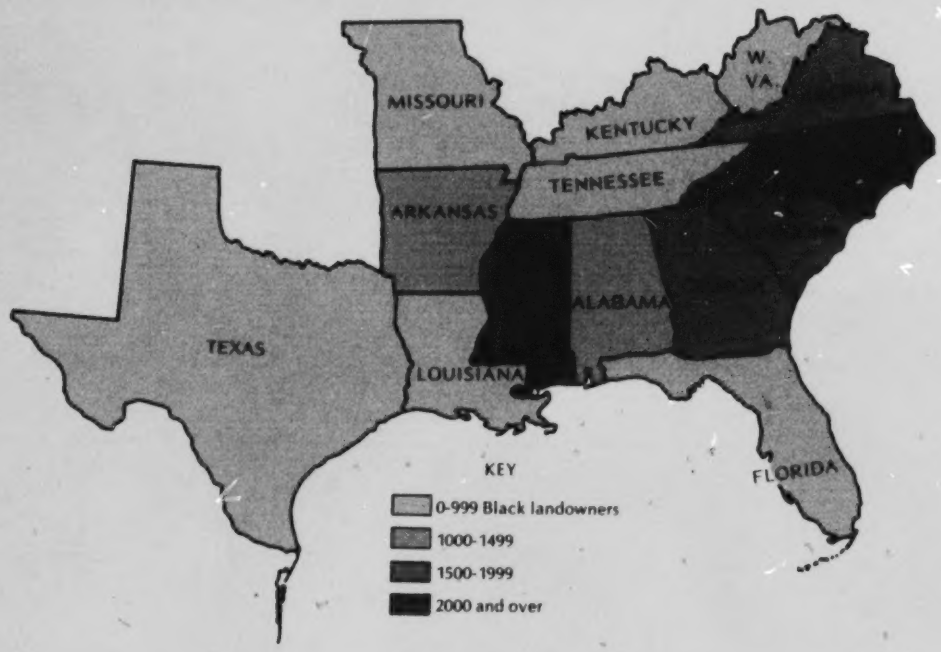
Black Farm Landowners Operating Class 1–5 Farms, by State, 14 Southern States, 1969

	Number of Black Landowners Operating Class 1–5 Farms	As % of All Black Class 1–5 Owners in South	As % of All Class 1–5 Owners in State
Alabama	1,098	6.4%	3.9%
Arkansas	1,008	5.9	3.6
Florida	362	2.1	1.9
Georgia	1,576	9.2	4.7
Kentucky	500	2.9	0.9
Louisiana	851	5.0	5.3
Mississippi	2,400	14.0	10.0
Missouri	156	0.8	0.2
North Carolina	4,152	24.2	8.1
South Carolina	1,648	9.6	11.3
Tennessee	914	5.3	2.1
Texas	801	4.7	0.8
Virginia	1,715	9.9	6.2
West Virginia	10	0.1	0.2
Total	**17,191**	**100.0%**	**3.3%**

2. Gross Sales and Investments in Machinery and Equipment

Given the relatively small size of black-owned farms, even in the Class 1–5 category, it naturally follows that the average value of products sold per farm by these operators will be smaller than those for all owners of Class 1–5 farms. Table 15 confirms this expectation by demonstrating that, with respect to Class 1–5 farms, the average sales per farm of black full owners falls substantially below the corresponding figure for *all* full owners in every state, reaching as much as 60% of the overall figure only in one state, Kentucky.

Map 9
Distribution of Black Landowners Operating Class 1-5 Farms, 1969



Map 10
Black Landowners Operating Class 1-5 Farms as Percent of all Landowners Operating Class 1-5 Farms, by State, 1969

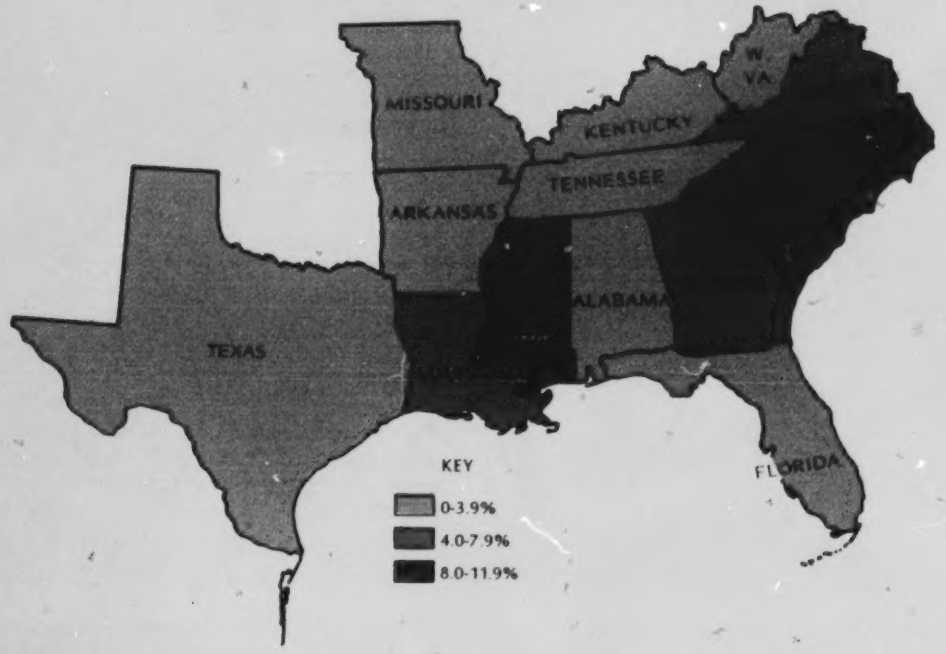


Figure 6
Black Full Owners as Percent of all Full Owners in Class 1-5 Farms, 1969

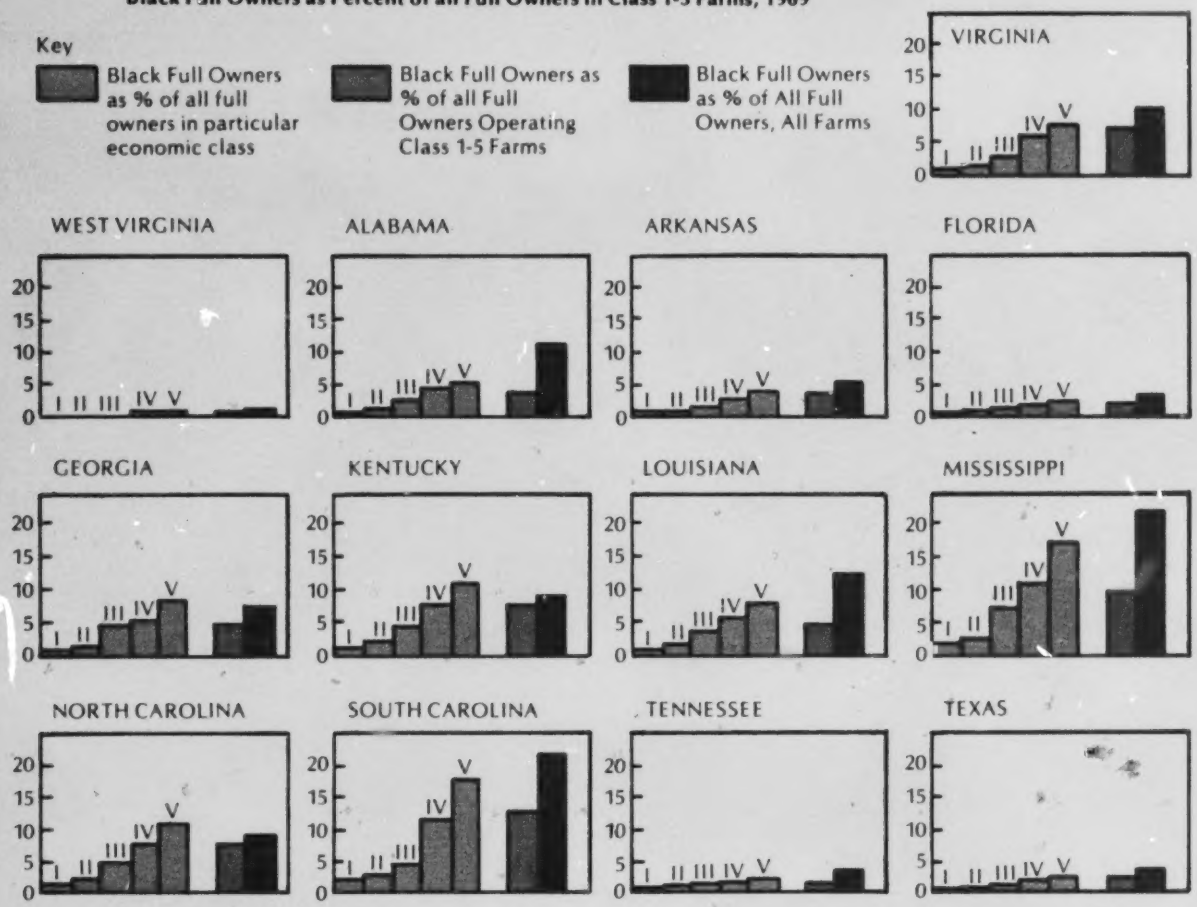


Table 15

Average Value of Products Sold by Black Farmowners and All Farmowners, Class 1–5 Farms, 1969

	Full Owners			Part Owners		
	Blacks	All	Blacks as % of All	Blacks	All	Blacks as % of All
Alabama	$9,043	$21,530	42.0%	$ 9,262	$23,426	39.5%
Arkansas	7,401	25,668	28.8	10,372	31,349	33.0
Florida	8,909	42,426	20.9	10,623	94,428	11.2
Georgia	9,797	25,501	38.4	12,540	33,335	37.3
Kentucky	7,833	9,911	79.0	10,082	16,110	62.5
Louisiana	8,173	19,760	41.3	11,658	28,736	40.5
Mississippi	8,427	19,452	43.3	7,921	30,586	25.8
North Carolina	7,680	15,962	48.1	9,711	22,315	43.5
South Carolina	7,635	15,827	48.2	8,752	27,233	32.1
Tennessee	5,407	9,726	55.5	8,533	16,515	51.6
Texas	8,302	23,718	35.0	10,682	31,158	34.2
Virginia	6,711	13,248	50.6	9,993	25,222	39.6
West Virginia	5,667	11,927	47.5	8,000	17,863	44.7

By the same token, it is not surprising to learn that when we compute gross farm profit, by adding gross sales to government farm income and subtracting production expenses, the results show black owners of Class 1–5 farms well behind all Class 1–5 farmowners in profits per farm. Indeed, as Table 16 shows, in only one state (Kentucky) does the average profit per farm of black full owners even approach $3,500; while for all full owners, the average profit per farm exceeds $3,500 in all but three cases (Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia), and in none of these does it fall below the figure for black full owners. (See Figure 7.)

Because of this smaller scale and more limited gross profit, black farmowners have been at a disadvantage in participating in the massive technological innovations that have affected Southern agriculture since World War II. As one student of the subject has noted:

> Because of their limited incomes, education, farm sizes, and access to credit, the Negro farmers' ability to adjust to technological and market changes has been markedly different from that of whites: the average size of farms operated by Negroes is one-

fourth the average size of farms operated by whites; and Negroes have less livestock, crop yield per acre, and machinery per farm and are much more dependent on cotton and tobacco, which are hardest hit by technological changes and federal agricultural policies.[2]

Table 17 seems to document this observation by showing that the average value of machinery and farm equipment per farm is substantially lower for black full and part owners than for all full and part owners of Class 1–5 farms in every Southern state.

Table 16

Income and Expenses Per Farm of Black Full Owners and All Full Owners, by State, Class 1–5 Farms, 1969

	Black Full Owners				All Full Owners				Black Average Gross Profit as % of All (4 ÷ 8)
	1 Value of Products Sold	2 Income from Gov't. Programs	3 Production Expenses	4 Gross Profit Per Farm [(1 + 2)–3]	5 Value of Products Sold	6 Income from Gov't. Programs	7 Production Expenses	8 Gross Profit Per Farm	
Alabama	$9,043	$1,072	$6,889	$3,226	$21,530	$1,317	$18,462	$4,385	73.5
Arkansas	7,401	1,318	6,108	2,611	25,668	1,718	21,948	5,438	48.0
Florida	8,909	937	6,673	3,173	42,426	1,359	36,961	6,824	46.5
Georgia	9,797	971	8,182	2,586	25,501	1,611	21,962	5,150	50.2
Kentucky	7,833	780	5,158	3,455	9,911	866	6,772	4,005	86.3
Louisiana	8,173	930	6,508	2,595	19,760	2,725	16,647	5,838	44.4
Mississippi	8,427	1,274	6,812	2,889	19,452	2,904	17,011	5,345	54.1
Missouri	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
North Carolina	7,680	464	5,109	3,035	15,962	812	12,145	4,629	65.6
South Carolina	7,635	790	5,248	3,177	15,827	1,584	13,186	4,225	75.2
Tennessee	5,407	961	4,235	2,133	9,726	1,022	7,546	3,202	66.6
Texas	8,302	1,211	6,935	2,578	23,718	2,970	21,899	4,789	53.2
Virginia	6,711	282	3,818	3,175	13,248	533	10,531	3,250	97.7
West Virginia	5,667	—	3,333	2,334	11,927	351	9,540	2,738	85.1

Figure 7

Gross Profits Per Farm for Black Full Owners and all Full Owners Class 1-5 Farms, 1969

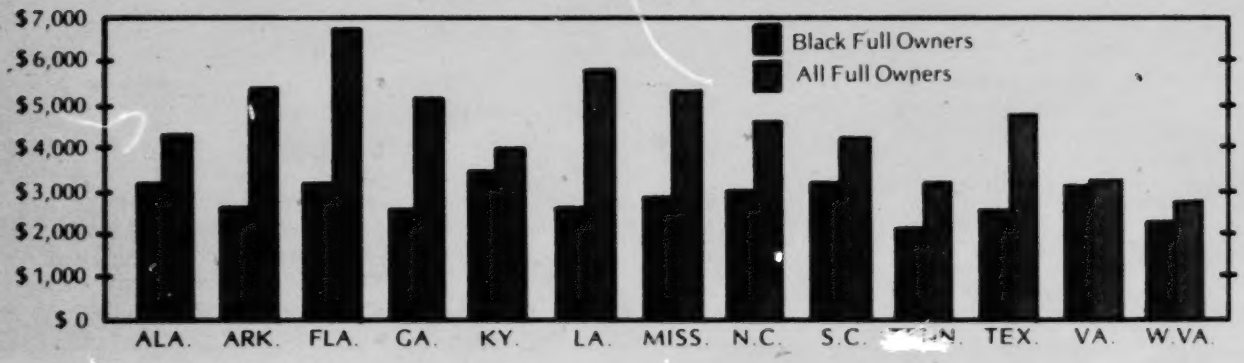
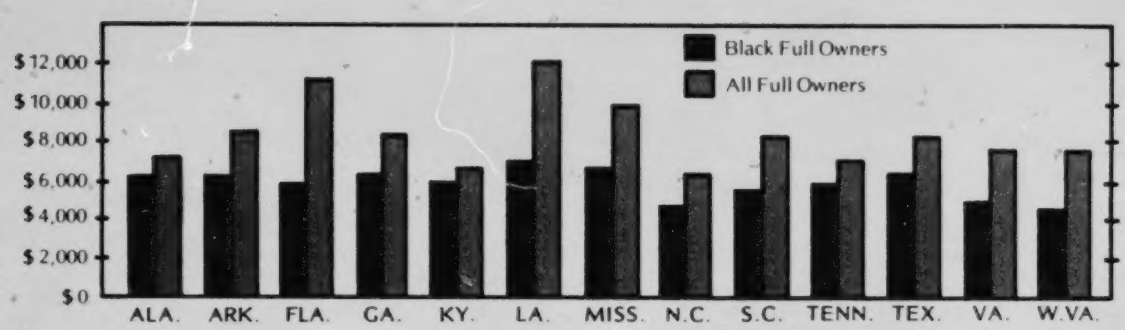


Table 17

Average Value Per Farm of Machinery and Farm Equipment of Black Landowners and All Landowners, Class 1–5 Farms, 1969

	Full Owners			Part Owners		
	Blacks	All	Blacks as % of All	Black	All	Blacks as % of All
Alabama	$6,163	$ 7,237	85.1	$ 8,039	$14,305	56.1
Arkansas	6,345	8,599	74.1	12,426	21,002	59.1
Florida	5,984	11,278	53.0	6,417	24,291	26.4
Georgia	6,536	8,330	78.4	9,131	17,047	53.5
Kentucky	6,039	6,618	91.2	7,870	10,189	77.2
Louisiana	7,060	12,124	58.2	12,294	23,385	52.5
Mississippi	6,720	9,963	67.4	9,356	23,542	39.7
North Carolina	4,701	6,365	73.8	5,901	10,511	56.1
South Carolina	5,511	8,301	66.3	8,321	17,259	48.2
Tennessee	5,764	6,942	83.0	8,968	12,480	17.8
Texas	6,287	8,272	76.0	8,069	15,893	50.9
Virginia	4,872	7,533	64.6	7,728	13,698	46.4
West Virginia	4,500	7,445	60.4	5,750	11,146	51.5

Figure 8
Average Value of Machinery and Farm Equipment Per Farm for Black Full Owners and all Full Owners, Class 1-5, 1969



3. Per Acre Profits and Investments: A Paradox

Impressive as these figures on sales, gross profit, and machinery investments per farm are, however, they tell only part of the story. What is more, to the extent that they suggest that black farmowners have been inefficient or have been unsuccessful in securing loans to purchase machinery, the foregoing figures are actually misleading. For, when we carry the analysis one step beyond where the conventional literature typically takes it, and consider gross profits and investments on a *per acre*—instead of a *per farm*—basis, some fascinating facts emerge. (See Figure 8)

In the first place, when we adjust for size of farm, it turns out that black full owners operating Class 1–5 farms have a substantially *better* profit performance than comparable white full owners. As Table 18 and Figure 9 indicate, in 8 of the 13 states for which data are available, the average gross profits *per acre* were quite a bit higher on black-owned Class 1–5 farms than on all such farms, and in 4 of the remaining five states the per acre profit figures were almost identical.

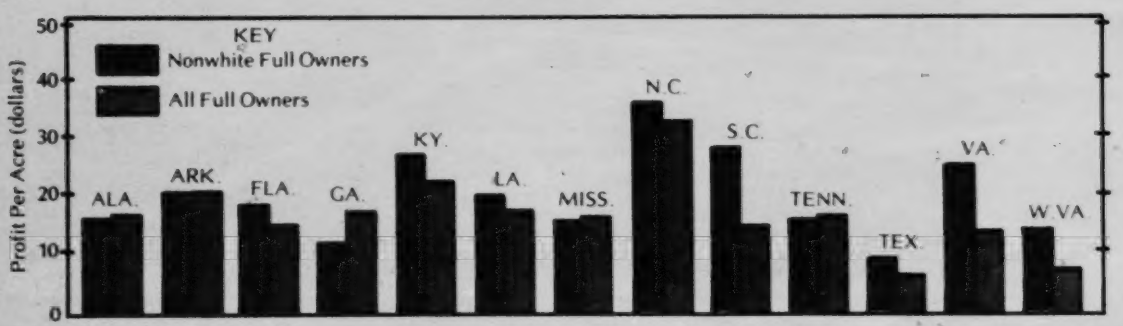
Several factors seem to account for this generally superior per acre profit performance of black commercial farmowners. The first is the greater intensity with which the black owners work their land. As Table 19 shows, in every state but Virginia black farmowners devoted a higher proportion of their land to crops than did all full owners, usually by a substantial margin. This means that proportionately more acres of black-owned farms are productive than is the case for all farms. As a result, when the average total income per farm is divided by the average total number of acres per farm for black owners, the result is higher than is the case for all farmowners.[3]

Table 18

Income and Expenses Per Acre of Black Full Owners and All Full Owners, by State, Class 1–5 Farms, 1969

	Black Full Owners				All Full Owners				
	1 Value of Products Sold Per Acre	2 Income from Gov't. Programs Per Acre	3 Production Expenses Per Acre	4 Gross Profit Per Acre [(1 + 2)–3]	5 Value of Products Sold Per Acre	6 Income from Gov't. Programs Per Acre	7 Production Expenses Per Acre	8 Gross Profit Per Acre [(5 + 6)–7]	Gross Profit–Black Full Owners as % of All Full Owners (4 ÷ 8)
Alabama	$43.40	$ 5.14	$33.06	$15.48	$ 80.10	$4.90	$68.71	$16.29	95.0
Arkansas	59.50	10.59	49.10	20.99	96.00	6.42	82.05	20.37	103.0
Florida	52.30	5.50	39.14	18.66	93.60	3.00	81.54	15.06	123.9
Georgia	47.10	4.60	39.36	12.41	86.90	5.49	74.88	17.51	70.9
Kentucky	62.40	6.22	41.10	27.52	56.00	4.90	38.28	22.62	121.7
Louisiana	64.80	7.38	51.61	20.57	60.40	8.34	50.92	17.82	115.4
Mississippi	48.30	7.31	39.08	16.53	61.60	9.19	53.83	16.96	97.5
North Carolina	93.40	5.64	62.15	36.89	114.40	5.82	87.06	33.16	111.2
South Carolina	69.70	7.21	47.93	28.98	56.70	5.68	47.26	15.12	191.7
Tennessee	41.80	7.42	32.70	16.52	52.60	5.52	40.79	17.33	95.3
Texas	30.60	4.47	25.57	9.50	34.10	4.27	31.48	6.89	137.9
Virginia	54.20	2.28	30.84	25.64	58.20	2.34	46.23	14.31	179.2
West Virginia	44.10	—	29.54	14.56	39.10	—	31.31	7.79	186.9

Figure 9
Gross Profit Per Acre for Black Full Owners and all Full Owners, Class 1-5 Farms, 1969



A second reason for the relatively higher per acre gross profits of black owners of Class 1–5 farms is the somewhat higher benefits they receive per acre from government farm programs. As Table 18 showed, black full owners received larger benefits from government programs per acre of farm land in 7 of the 13 states. These receipts boosted the income of black owners beyond what they would otherwise have been, and thus added to profits. A third reason for the better profit picture of these black full owners, finally, was the fact that they kept their ratio of production expenses to sales income below that of whites, most probably by relying more heavily on their own labor and minimizing the use of chemicals and fertilizers. (See Table 18). Whether this practice was the result of free choice, the unavailability of operating capital, or limited access to production credit is impossible to say on the basis of the available data. But it is clear that, by keeping down costs, this practice augmented profits per acre for black owners.

Table 19

Land in Harvested Cropland as a Percentage of All Land in Farms of Black Full Owners and All Full Owners, by State, Class 1–5 Farms, 1969

	% of land in Harvested Cropland	
	Black Full Owners	All Full Owners
Alabama	18.9%	14.3%
Arkansas	54.5	27.6
Florida	25.5	18.6
Georgia	23.4	17.1
Kentucky	23.5	19.7
Louisiana	32.7	26.0
Mississippi	24.3	23.0
North Carolina	23.0	20.5
South Carolina	30.4	19.6
Tennessee	22.6	19.8
Texas	14.1	10.9
Virginia	16.8	17.8
West Virginia	26.6	14.1

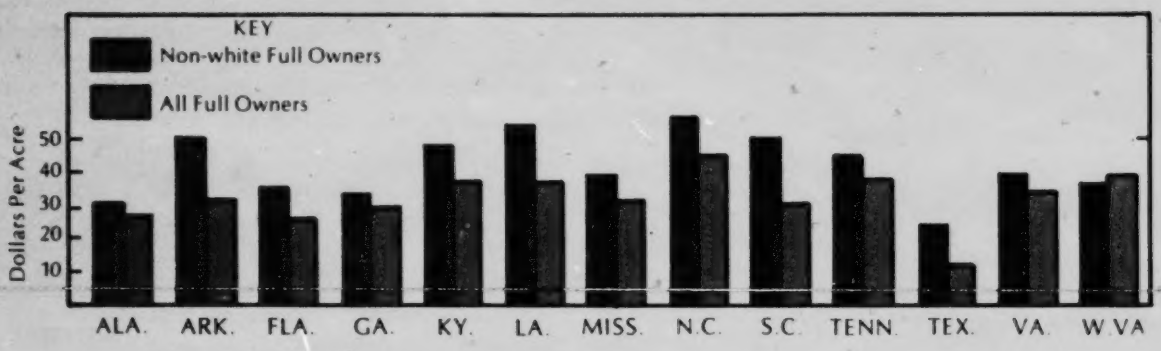
If the lower per acre production expenses of black full owners suggest a possible lack of access to credit sources, however, the figures on investment in machinery and equipment show just the opposite. For, when we control for the size of farms (as we did in the case of gross profits), we discover that black full owners of Class 1–5 farms substantially outperformed white full owners in terms of machinery and equipment purchases. Indeed, as Table 20 and Figure 10 show, the value of machinery and equipment *per acre* on *black*-owned Class 1–5 farms exceeded the value on *all* such farms by a substantial margin in every state. This pattern is understandable given the "lumpiness" of equipment purchases, i.e. the fact that such purchases cannot be made in tiny increments but must be made in large chunks, frequently larger than are absolutely necessary for the scale of operation. From the point of view of a possible land-based minority development strategy, however, this finding has immense significance. In particular, it suggests that the conventional wisdom about the inability of black farmowners to secure credit against the security of their land may need to be revised. Since equipment investments are typically made on credit, the data reported here suggest that the average acre of black-owned land is actually supporting *more* debt than is the average acre of white-owned land. While these figures apply to only one possible type of debt, they nevertheless go some distance in establishing the capital leveraging power of black-owned land, and thus in establishing the feasibility of utilizing this land as an equity resource in a broader development strategy.

Table 20

Average Value of Machinery and Farm Equipment Per Acre for Thirteen Southern States, Class 1–5 Farms, 1969

	Full Owners			Part Owners		
	Nonwhites ($per acre)	All Full Owners ($per acre)	Nonwhites as % of Total	Nonwhites	All Part-Owners	Nonwhites as % of Total
Alabama	$29.57	$26.93	109.8%	36.44	30.30	120.3
Arkansas	51.00	32.00	159.4	54.38	37.74	144.1
Florida	35.10	24.87	141.1	21.58	19.81	108.9
Georgia	31.44	28.40	110.7	37.56	35.49	105.8
Kentucky	48.12	37.41	128.6	51.78	40.51	127.8
Louisiana	55.99	37.09	151.0	60.53	44.87	139.9
Mississippi	38.55	31.53	122.3	39.23	37.03	105.9
N. Carolina	57.19	45.63	125.3	67.21	53.30	126.1
S. Carolina	50.33	29.75	169.2	55.07	43.30	127.2
Tennessee	44.51	37.52	118.6	45.11	41.99	107.4
Texas	23.18	11.89	195.0	18.57	10.22	181.7
Virginia	39.35	33.07	119.0	48.91	40.48	120.8
W. Virginia	35.02	36.58	95.7	—	23.83	—

Figure 10
Average Value of Machinery and Farm Equipment Per Acre for Black Full Owners and all Full Owners, Class 1-5 Farms, 1969



4. Explaining the Paradox of Land Loss Despite Higher Profits and Investments per Acre

Despite the superior per acre profit and investment performance of black owners just cited, however, black full owners, even those operating Class 1–5 farms, have been leaving agriculture at a rapid rate and surrendering their land. What are the reasons for this paradox? And what do they imply about the feasibility of a land-based minority development strategy in the South?

The evidence already cited suggests three explanations. The first flows directly from the data on cropland harvested reported in Table 19. If black full owners owned "better" farms, i.e. farms with less wasteland or other unuseable area, it would be possible to interpret the higher proportions of harvested cropland in black-owned farms as an unmitigated economic benefit. But, there is little basis for believing that black-owned farms are really "better" in this sense. To the contrary, blacks in the rural South have historically been restricted in their purchases to the less desirable, marginal lands—typically in the hillier regions. The figures reported in Table 19 thus probably reflect less an effort to capitalize on the value of superior land than a desperate effort to survive some serious economic pressures by working marginal lands more intensely. The unfortunate result, however, is to limit the flexibility of black owners in following soil conservation practices, such as allowing a share of their land to remain idle. Coupled with what Table 18 above suggested about the lower per acre expenditures on fertilizers and other agricultural chemicals by black owners, the most plausible inference is that black owners are being forced to wear out their land more rapidly than all owners in order to survive economically. In other words, short run survival needs are necessitating farming practices that are destructive of long-run farm viability.

A second explanation of the continued departure of black farmowners despite relatively high per acre profits grows out of the investment figures reported in Table 20. Because of the lumpiness of machinery and equipment investments and the relatively small size of black-owned farms, black commercial farmowners have been able to participate in the recent technological changes only by encumbering each acre of their land with larger debts than is the case for white owners. While this pattern suggests that capital sources are willing to extend loans on the security of black-owned land, it also means that black landowners are having to expose themselves to greater risks of default in order to function as commercial farmers. These risks are especially serious in view of the fact that the small size of black-owned farms limits the efficiency with which the equipment can be used. What this suggests is that the real problem for black farmowners in the South may not be lack of access to credit sources—as the popular wisdom holds—but just the opposite: over-capitalization of the land resulting from investments in technological innovations beyond what each acre of land can profitably support. The unfortunate consequences are recorded in the persistent foreclosures on black-owned land that have become distressingly commonplace in recent years.[1]

One way to deal with this problem would be to pool machinery investments among black landowners and thus improve the efficiency of its use and the acreage supporting it. But, another way would be to channel the capital leveraged by black-owned land into entirely different productive uses. Whether the credit sources extending capital for farm machinery purchases would do the same for alternative uses is admittedly problematic. But the machinery investment data at least demonstrate that some capital sources have enough confidence in the value of black-owned land to extend substantial credit on it. The task now may be to discover alternative creditors willing to extend the same credit, but for more productive, non-agricultural uses.

A third explanation of the continued decline of black-owned land despite the higher per acre gross profits lies in the age structure of the black landowning population. More than 80 percent of the black owners of Class 1–5

24 farms are over 45 years of age, and close to 60 percent are over 55 years old. (See Table 21). In other words, there is little evidence of replenishment of the ranks of black farmowners by younger persons. To the contrary, the pattern seems to be for land to leave black hands once the 1930's generation grows too old to farm it. Evidently, younger blacks, once they move to the city, lose interest in the small homesteads their parents and grandparents managed to acquire in the previous century. In many cases, they agree to partition sales without taking full advantage of the rise in land values that has occurred, thus squandering an important minority development resource. While this same process is underway among whites as well, it is particularly significant for Southern blacks since land has historically been the only capital resource they have controlled. As land values in the South increase in response to increasing urbanization, the opportunities to build upon even the remaining black-owned land resources grow apace. Yet the existing age structure of the current black landowners suggests that further liquidation of these resources is still the most likely outcome, barring some dramatic governmental intervention or a concerted publicity effort aimed at the heirs of the current black landholders.

Table 21

Age of Black Full and Part Owners, Class 1–5 Farms, 13 Southern States, 1969

	Full Owners				Part Owners			
	Total Number	Percent by Age Groups 0–44 years	45–64 years	over 65 years	Total Number	Percent by Age Groups 0–44 years	45–64 years	over 65 years
Alabama	575	15.8	57.6	26.6	523	18.4	67.1	14.5
Arkansas	446	10.8	56.7	32.5	562	18.5	68.1	13.3
Florida	208	15.4	66.3	18.3	154	18.2	72.7	9.1
Georgia	959	20.0	55.2	24.8	617	23.0	68.7	8.3
Kentucky	366	16.9	58.2	24.9	134	21.6	60.5	17.9
Louisiana	445	18.9	65.9	15.3	406	26.4	60.3	12.3
Mississippi	1,560	11.8	58.4	29.7	840	17.6	67.3	15.0
North Carolina	2,369	16.3	59.8	23.8	1,783	17.9	71.7	10.4
South Carolina	836	17.9	57.6	24.4	812	22.6	65.9	10.7
Tennessee	537	16.1	59.5	24.7	383	19.1	71.8	9.1
Texas	464	11.6	53.4	34.9	337	17.6	61.1	21.4
Virginia	910	14.2	59.7	26.2	805	17.5	69.4	13.0
West Virginia	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

Conclusions and Implications

A variety of conclusions emerge from the foregoing analysis of black landholding patterns in the South. Among the most salient are these:

1) Blacks in the southern states still control substantial amounts of land, despite the sharp reductions that have occurred over the past several decades. A conservative estimate would put the value of this land at close to $1 billion.

2) From the data on investment in machinery and equipment, it seems clear that this black-owned land has enough intrinsic value to convince lending sources to extend credit on it—as much as, or more so, than on comparable white-owned land. Hence there is reason to have some confidence in the potential for a land-based minority development strategy, even relying on local capital sources.

3) Because of the small size of black-owned parcels, commercial agricultural enterprises of the sort currently operated are not likely to provide a sufficiently large return to allow blacks to hold on to this land over the long run. Nevertheless, public policy could remedy this situation in part—by encouraging the pooling of machinery investments and providing additional benefits to encourage soil conservation, for example. Black farmowners are already doing exceptionally well in adapting to the difficult economic forces affecting them. Given the size of their operations, however, the situation they face is likely to grow increasingly critical in the absence of actions that go beyond what the individual black farmer can accomplish on his own.

4) Since well over half of all black landowners are not engaged in commercial agriculture but are operating part-time or retirement farms, a strategy aimed at improving agricultural profitability alone is not likely to be sufficient. Indeed, so long as agriculture is considered the only possible productive use of land, blacks are likely to continue to lose it at a rapid rate. But many blacks in the South —whether engaged in commercial farming or not— own land that is increasingly valuable for non-agricultural purposes, because of rapid urbanization, improved transportation, and expanded industrialization. What is needed from the point of view of minority development is a concerted effort to identify areas of greatest potential for black landowners, to make black landowners aware of the capital leveraging power of their land, and to underwrite capital formation activities secured by this land through loan guarantees and interest subsidies.

5) Perhaps most importantly, any effort to take advantage of the unique resource represented by black-owned land in the South must be implemented quickly, for this resource is disappearing at an amazingly rapid pace. At the very least, a short-run emergency effort aimed simply at stemming the loss of this resource should be undertaken at once. Otherwise, there will be no foundation left for a land-based minority development strategy in the South by the time such a strategy is put into operation.

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[1] Missouri was omitted from this analysis because the number of black-owned Class 1–5 farms in this state was too small to be reported in the Census data.

[2] F. Ray Marshall, "Some Rural Economic Development Problems in the South," *Proceedings of the American Economic Association,* LXII (May, 1972), p. 205.

[3] To see this more clearly, assume that in a particular state the average black-owned Class 1–5 farm is 50 acres in size and the average Class 1–5 farm of *all* full owners is 100 acres. If the average black owner devotes 50 percent of his acreage to crops (i.e. 25 acres) and earns $4 in gross profit from each of these acres of cropland, his overall gross income per farm will be $100, or *$2.00 per acre*. If the average white owner devotes only 40 percent of his acreage to cropland (i.e. 40 acres) and earns the same $4.00 in gross profit from each of these acres of cropland harvested, his overall gross profit per farm will be $160, or only $1.60 per acre of farmland.

[4] For data on foreclosures on black-owned land, see: Black Economic Research Center, *Only Six Million Acres,* passim.

2

Expanded Ownership as an Anti-Poverty and Minority Enterprise Strategy:

An Evaluation of the Farm Security Administrations Resettlement Program

PART TWO

Introduction

In endorsing a strategy of "expanded ownership" as the mechanism to promote minority business development and relieve poverty in the 1970s and beyond,[1]** the Presidents Advisory Council on Minority Enterprise was affirming a long-standing tenet of American tradition: the notion that freedom and opportunity depend critically on the ownership of property. The Founding Fathers, who drew heavily on social contract theorists like John Locke, viewed widespread property ownership as a crucial guarantee of republican government. In the Homestead Act signed by President Lincoln in 1862, moreover, this view received tangible expression, as the federal government, for the first time, became an active promoter of widespread property ownership by making vast tracts of federal land available to homesteaders in low-cost, 160-acre plots. "Instead of baronial possessions, let us facilitate the increase of independent homesteads," noted Congressman William Steele Holman in explaining the rationale behind the act:

> Let us keep the plow in the hands of the owner. Every new home that is established, the independent possessor of which cultivates his own freehold, is establishing a new republic within the old, and adding a new and strong pillar to the edifice of the state.[2]

A hundred years later, a similar set of notions resurfaced among activists in the civil rights movement, who called for efforts to expand minority control over economic and political resources as a way to promote black pride, self-respect, independence and economic progress.[3]

For all the attention it has received, however, the presumed link between property ownership and economic opportunity remains largely unverified in any systematic empirical sense. As the authors of a recent monograph on "expanded ownership" concede, "there is exceedingly little direct investigation of the function of property acquisition and ownership on behavior."* And this is especially true with regard to the presumed contribution expanded ownership programs can make to anti-poverty and minority business development efforts. For the most part, such efforts in the United States have focused primarily on the provision of services rather than on access to equity ownership. Consequently, there have been precious few opportunities to evaluate the virtues of an expanded ownership approach to these problems. What few programs of this sort have been undertaken, moreover, have either never been evaluated or have been subjected to evaluations so limited in their time perspective that gaining a clear picture of their real impacts has been virtually impossible.[5] As a result, there is little empirical evidence on which to choose between the "expanded ownership" approach and the welfare aproach to the problems of poverty and inadequate minority business development. What is desperately needed, therefore, is systematic evaluative research to assess the long-term outcomes of the few expanded ownership-type experiments that have been undertaken.

It is the purpose of this report to present just such an evaluation, focusing on an innovative Depression-era experiment called the resettlement program. As a test of the "expanded ownership" approach, this program has several unique advantages. In the first place, the resettlement program provided access to what is still the clearest and most basic of equity resources, and the one that remains probably the largest single equity resource in the hands of minority groups today: namely, land. Under the program, which was launched in the mid-1930s, the federal government acquired some 2 million acres of land in approximately 200 locales across the country, resettled approximately 10,000 farm tenant families on this land in farm or farm-and-factory communities, and then eventually sold the land to these families on long-term, low-interest loans. The program thus differed from most of the welfare programs of the day by providing an opportunity for the rural poor to acquire property and thus escape the debilitating dependency of the sharecrop system.

* See Author's note on page 50.
** Footnotes to this part begin on page 50.

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In the second place, the resettlement program occurred long enough ago to permit its long-term consequences to be visible. Launched in 1934 under the auspices of the Division of Subsistence Homesteads of the Department of Interior and then picked up in succession by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Resettlement Administration, and the Farm Security Administration, the resettlement program was in operation until 1943, when most of the land was sold to participants. From that point until we undertook our evaluation in 1973, of thirty years, or about a generation elapsed, certainly enough time for the real impact of the program to become apparent. Since the major benefit provided by the program was access to landownership, moreover, some of the typical dilemmas frustrating long-term evaluative research were avoided. Land leaves behind a permanent record in the form of deed and mortgage files registered in local county courthouses. It was thus possible to trace what happened to the project land from the time it was first transferred to project participants down to the present, something that it is impossible to do for education or manpower or social programs.

In the third place, the resettlement program is an ideal test of the "expanded ownership approach" to minority enterprise policy because it involved the minority poor, indeed probably the most seriously impoverished and dependent of all the minority poor: the Depression-struck, Southern, rural, black tenantry. Of the 141 agricultural resettlement projects undertaken between 1934 and 1943, 13 were reserved exclusively for blacks and an additional 19 "scattered farm" projects involved substantial numbers of blacks, thus redeeming, albeit on a meager scale, the Reconstruction dream of "forty acres and a mule" by distributing approximately 170,000 acres of land on quite favorable terms to about 2,300 black tenant families.[8] Despite its pitifully small size in comparison to the scope of the problem it was addressing, here was a bold experiment in social reform, a fascinating alternative to the public relief mode of assistance to the poor.

Finally, because it afforded poor whites as well as poor blacks the opportunity to acquire land at the same time and under similar circumstances, sometimes even in the same county, the resettlement program provides a unique experimental situation to assess the impact of racial discrimination on the success of expanded ownership programs.

Despite the importance of the resettlement experience, however, its consequences—positive or negative—have never been charted. Like so many governmental programs, experimental and non-experimental alike, all we really know about the resettlement program was that it existed. Whether it was more or less costly than traditional relief, whether it produced benefits that justified its costs, whether its long-term effects differed from its apparent short-term impacts were all questions that had hardly been raised, let alone systematically answered, when war-time pressures and Congressional doubts led to the termination of the program in 1943. "At some future date," reported a Harvard economist to War Food Administrator Chester C. Davis, at the time, "it will be highly desirable to have a review and analysis made of this whole undertaking to see what was really accomplished and what lessons can be derived from the experiments."[9] Yet, some twenty-five years later, historian Sydney Baldwin was still bewailing the absence of any systematic evaluation of the important resettlement experience. Noted Baldwin:

> Since men are not guinea pigs and society is not a laboratory, students of politics and public administration are generally denied the benefit of controlled experimentation. Yet, the resettlement administration did offer a unique experimental opportunity whose lessons have not yet, a generation later, been fully evaluated, let alone applied.[8]

The present inquiry is intended to fill this gap by examining the long-term impact of the resettlement program on the black tenant farmers who constituted its most needy and disadvantaged participants. In the process, it seeks to contribute some empirical substance to the debate over the relative merits of the expanded ownership and traditional welfare approaches to eradicating poverty and fostering minority enterprise development. To do so, the discussion falls into four basic parts. Part I describes the overall character and structure of the resettlement program in somewhat greater detail so that the general contours of this program will be clear. Part II then details the evaluation design employed to assess the long-term impacts of this program, including the criteria of success, the program impact measures, and the method for differentiating between program-related and non-program-related effects. Part III presents the results that were generated from the application of this design. In a conclusion, finally, we assess the program's benefits against its costs and draw some general conclusions about the utility of the expanded ownership concept of minority development policy and about the conduct of longitudinal policy evaluations.

I. The Resettlement Program: An Overview

In order to evaluate the resettlement program, it is necessary to be clear at the outset about how it operated. This is especially important since the resettlement program was really not one program but four different ones, initiated by four different agencies under a succession of executive orders and legislative mandates. The first of these was the Subsistence Homesteads program authorized by the Industrial Recovery Act of 1933 and administered originally by the Department of the Interior. The main thrust of the Subsistence Homesteads program was to relocate urban industrial workers in government-owned new communities where they could operate small subsistence farms while holding industrial jobs in project factories. Although primarily aimed at the urban unemployed, and therefore not of central concern to the primary focus of this report, the 26 communities

launched under the Subsistence Homesteads program nevertheless embodied many of the key features that appeared in various forms in the later resettlement experiments: a preference for self-help approaches to relief, an effort to reconstitute basic economic relations, a touch of agrarian romanticism, and a strong emphasis on collective, or community, values.[9]

The second agency to enter the field of community building and expanded ownership was the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), the agency created in 1933 to administer the federal emergency relief grants to the states. Under the direction of relief administrator Harry Hopkins, the FERA established a Division of Rural Rehabilitation and Stranded Populations in 1934 and launched a rural relief program designed, in Hopkins' words, to "make it possible for destitute persons eligible for relief in such areas to sustain themselves through their own efforts." [10] Three specific programs were undertaken to implement this goal: first, a program of "rehabilitation" loans providing low-cost credit for farmers already on productive land; second, a land retirement program designed to take submarginal land out of agricultural production permanently through government purchase and conversion; and third, a community program designed to house stranded or displaced rural families in rural-industrial settings similar to those envisioned in the Subsistence Homesteads program.[11]

Early in 1935, however, the FERA rural programs, as well as the Subsistence Homesteads, were transferred to a new agency, the Resettlement Administration, created in April 1935 by an Executive Order granting it broad authority to use relief funds to resettle destitute low-income families and help the rural poor through loans and grants for land, equipment and livestock purchase. The creation of the Resettlement Administration grew out of the failure of the agricultural adjustment programs launched in 1933 to help the immense, desperately impoverished rural tenant and farm labor classes, especially in the South. The acreage reduction program authorized under the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933 had, in fact, intensified the suffering of this rural underclass. By reducing the cultivated acreage, the A.A.A. program displaced thousands of tenants without making provision for replacement income. Although tenants were supposed to receive a share of the crop support payments paid as part of the acreage reduction programs, in practice they rarely did since the landlords typically dominated the local committees set up to administer the program. In addition, small farmowners were frequently unable to take enough land out of production to benefit from the program.[12] As a consequence, instead of the one million farm families that were on relief when Franklin D. Roosevelt became President in 1933, the number stood at 2½ million by 1935.[13]

This situation was particularly critical in the South, and especially so among blacks. Of the almost 1½ million black farm operators in the South in 1930, 77 percent owned no land and worked as tenants, sharecroppers, or farm laborers. Research in 1932 showed that incomes of $100 per year were not uncommon for the black tenant and farm laborer populations, and recorded a grim picture of ill-health, poor nutrition, and grossly inadequate housing that only worsened as the depression wore on.[14]

Under the direction of brain-truster Rexford Tugwell, the Resettlement Administration undertook what it considered to be a basic attack on the underlying causes of persistent rural poverty, focusing especially on the rural underclass untouched by the other Agriculture Department programs. Tugwell's goals for his new agency were grandiose, calling for a planned reorganization of the Nation's agricultural land resources, beginning with government purchase of 10 million acres of submarginal land and the resettlement of 20,000 uprooted farm families in new rural or suburban communities. These communities, in Tugwell's vision, would be models of sophisticated planning and incubators for a new spirit of community and cooperation.[15] Practical considerations scaled down this vision considerably, however, and the main thrust of the RA effort throughout 1935 and 1936 was in its "rural rehabilitation" program, a program that provided low-cost loans to poor farm families already in possession of land for production expenses, equipment purchase, home improvements, and the creation of cooperative enterprises.[16] Yet, the Resettlement Administration did substantially enlarge the expanded ownership experiments as well. In fact, it was during the Resettlement Administration era that these experiments got under way in earnest. Approximately 82 "scattered farm projects" were inaugurated by the Resettlement Administration in 1936 and 1937. Under these projects, local Resettlement Administration officials would purchase numerous small farms in an area, resettle tenants on these farms under long-term lease-purchase agreements, provide rehabilitation loans to the settlers, and offer technical assistance and other forms of aid. In addition to these scattered-farm projects, moreover, the Resettlement Administration assumed responsibility for 59 community projects bequeathed to it by the FERA and the Division of Subsistence Homesteads and proceeded to launch 37 new community projects of its own, 32 of them rural-agricultural communities.[17]

From the point of view of our inquiry here, these latter projects are of greatest interest. The typical pattern was for Resettlement Administration regional office personnel to identify suitably fertile land located in areas of greatest need and available at reasonable cost. Because numerous Southern plantations had gone into foreclosure during the Depression, locating adequate land was not a problem. Once local approval was secured and the land purchased, a community manager was designated and work undertaken to subdivide the land into 40 tracts of 40 to 100 acres each and to construct homes and outbuildings—typically a barn, a smoke house and a privy. The selection of settlers was the responsibility of RA social

32 workers, who usually gave preference to tenants already on the land, and who required that settlers have farming experience but be unable to borrow sufficient funds from alternative sources. Without exception, the RA adhered to existing racial norms in its family selection practices. Although several projects were "integrated," what this meant in practice was that separate white and black communities were organized simultaneously on separate tracts within the same county. For the most part, however, projects were either all white or all black.

Project settlers were required to sign lease-purchase agreements providing an option to buy the unit after a five-year trial rental period. The general plan was to offer successful participants 40-year mortgages at 3 percent interest at the end of the trial period. In the meantime, the Resettlement Administration collected rent on the land and RA local officials worked with the participants in developing detailed farm and home plans. These plans outlined what crops were to be planted, the number and type of livestock to be raised, the acreage to be cultivated, and so on. Demonstration agents or home economists worked with the project women, teaching canning and food processing, with the pressure cooker a key element. In addition, the government constructed community buildings, schools, and cooperative enterprises like cotton gins, stores, and grist mills at each project; arranged for medical assistance through special arrangements with local physicians; and helped organize various activities designed to instill a sense of community.[28]

By the time the resettlement program got into full swing under the RA, however, Congressional hostility began to surface. This was understandable in view of the fact that the beneficiaries of the program lacked real political effectiveness, whereas the powers-that-be in American agriculture opposed it. Congressional criticism was aroused primarily by several of the subsistence homestead projects bequeathed to the RA by the Interior Department in rather poor financial condition, and by two or three experiments in cooperative farming sponsored by the agency. In addition, Administrator Rexford Tugwell's rhetoric about reordering rural social relationships found little favor among the more powerful agricultural interest groups and their friends on Capitol Hill. Finally, equally irksome to Congressional critics was the fact that the Resettlement Administration was operating under an Executive Order issued under the somewhat doubtful authority of the Emergency Relief Act, and thus lacked a clear legislative mandate for its programs, especially the resettlement program. Though only a small part of the Resettlement Administration effort, therefore, the resettlement projects generated more than their share of political heat.

In an effort to insulate the agency from some of this criticism, F.D.R. shifted it to the Agriculture Department in late 1936. In addition, he supported legislative efforts to give the agency more adequate statutory authority. The Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act that emerged from Congress as a result of these efforts in 1937 was a bit of a disappointment, however. The bill authorized the continuation of the RA rehabilitation program in a new agency to be called the Farm Security Administration, but it neglected to grant clear authority for the agency to purchase land, which was crucial to the whole resettlement experiment. What the Act provided instead was the so-called "tenant purchase" program, which provided low-cost, 40-year loans to carefully selected tenant farmers to allow them to purchase individual parcels of land. From the outset, however, it was clear that the recipients of tenant purchase loans would differ markedly from those who were participating in the resettlement effort. As Baldwin notes: ". . . the passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act did not signal a formidable assault on hard-core rural poverty. . . . The chief beneficiary of Congressional action was a very modest program for farm purchase loans to selected farm tenants who could satisfy what amounted to banking requirements."[29]

Nevertheless, in addition to the new tenant-purchase program, FSA did assume responsibility for the existing resettlement projects and initiated at least eleven new ones as well.[30] In fact, much of the actual operation of the resettlement program took place under FSA auspices, since few of the projects were fully operational prior to the demise of the RA and its replacement by FSA.

But if the resettlement experiments survived the switch to FSA, so did Congressional hostility. "Of all the programs of the FSA," reports the author of the most thorough study of this phase of the New Deal, "the resettlement projects attracted the most uniform verdict of failure."[31] Yet this verdict was based on no solid body of evaluative research, and certainly no evaluative research capable of assessing the long-term contributions of the experiments, as observers at the time readily conceded.[32] Nevertheless, once the President's attention turned toward preparations for war, Congressional critics gained the freedom they sought to put an end to this modest experiment. In 1943 the House Agriculture Committee organized a special subcommittee to conduct a detailed inquiry into FSA programs, especially the resettlement experiments. At the same time, the House Appropriations Committee began bearing down with even more than its normal vigor. Under this pressure, and in the absence of strong Administration support, the resettlement program was forced into rapid liquidation. As of May 1943, FSA was selling project lands at the rate of 500 units a month.[33] By late 1945, all but 232,000 acres of the useable farm land incorporated in the various projects had been sold, most of it to approximately 7,300 farm families as individual farming units.[34] Within another 15 months, the resettlement program had come to an end, and the Farm Security Administration soon after reorganized as the Farmer's Home Administration with a far different orientation and mission in life.

II. Evaluation Design

Although the resettlement program *qua* program effectively came to an end in 1943, however, its impact lived on in the person of the 10,000 farm families that it helped to acquire land. What became of these families? In particular, what became of the *black* families that secured land under this program, since they were the ones least likely to have secured land without the program? Was the experiment a "success," even in the limited terms of having a discernible, long-term, positive impact on its most needy recipients, an impact that could arguably be said to have been worth the cost?

To answer these questions, it was necessary to take three basic steps: first, to clarify the goals of the program and the criteria by which success should be gauged; second, to translate these goals and criteria into measurable form and devise techniques to conduct the measurements; and third, to formulate a way to differentiate effects due to the program from effects due to extraneous factors. Because we were attempting to evaluate a program that was over thirty years old when we began the evaluation, the problems encountered in pursuing these steps were naturally severe. The purpose of this section is to outline these problems and indicate what improvisations we employed to deal with them.

Defining Success: Program Goals

The first task in any policy evaluation is to clarify what the program's objectives are, so that appropriate impact measures can be devised. Under the best of circumstances, this is a difficult task requiring a high tolerance for contradiction. "The legislative history of a program," Cain and Hollister have noted, typically resembles the Scriptures by providing "a boundless source of Pharisaical counter-interpretations as to intended objectives."[28] Add to that the likelihood of unanticipated or unintended consequences that are justifiably attributable to the program, and the demands on the imagination of the evaluator become clear.[29]

In the case of the resettlement program, these familiar problems were intensified by the peculiar origins of the program. As we have seen, almost all of the resettlement projects were financed out of federal relief funds authorized by the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933. Yet this Act never mentioned resettlement project experiments or even land purchases. In the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, Congress did authorize the use of relief funds "for the purpose of making loans to finance, in whole or in part, the purchase of farm lands and necessary equipment by farmers, farm tenants, croppers, or farm laborers" (49 Stat. 115); but no mention was made of the resettlement experiments per se. Nor did the Executive Order establishing the Resettlement Administration in April 1935 and authorizing it to purchase land and develop projects spell out precisely what the goals of these resettlement projects should be.[31] As a consequence, various officials were free to develop different expectations about what resettlement was all about, a situation that facilitated experimentation, but that also produced considerable misunderstanding and acrimony, and that complicates the task of evaluation.

In particular, three major sets of expectations quickly emerged. The first was that of RA Administrator Rexford Tugwell, who saw the resettlement program as the entering wedge of a broad-gauged agricultural and social policy designed to retire hundreds of thousands of acres of submarginal land and resettle the displaced "fatigued farmers" on newly-organized farm or farm-and-factory-communities organized around essentially cooperative principles. The program was thus to serve the macro agricultural policy goal of eliminating over-production while also instilling a new cooperative ethic in the countryside through such program devices as cooperative associations, community organization, and long purchase contracts and conditioned leases designed to keep project participants from going off on their own before the new community spirit had a time to flower.[32]

Such grandiose schemes fell on generally deaf ears within the Congressional agricultural establishment, however. For this group, resettlement had a much less complex objective: to reverse the decline in the number of autonomous family farmers, nothing more and nothing less. For example, Senator Bankhead (D., Ala.), one of the Congressional supporters of the resettlement program, justified his support on the grounds that the program's objective was "the restoration of that small yeoman class which has been the backbone of every great civilization."[33] Congressional agricultural leaders thus had little patience for the five-year trial rental periods and extensive supervision built into the RA/FSA resettlement experiments. During the House Agriculture Committee's 1943 hearings into FSA activities, for example, investigative subcommittee chairman Harold Cooley (D., N.C.) expressed particular opposition to what he called FSA's "pet policies of Government ownership of land." Noted Cooley: "Congress . . . did not want farm tenants to become mere wards or tenants of the Government."[34]

From the point of view of evaluating the resettlement program, neither of these two images of the goals of the program seems appropriate. Tugwell's vision was frustrated early on by the limited funding and narrow authority made available to the agency. To hold the resettlement program responsible for the failure to solve the problem of agricultural over-production or to foster a new cooperative ethic in the countryside thus seems grossly unfair. On the other hand, however, the Congressional image of the program's objectives seems too narrow, for it fails to account for the program's focus on the chronic tenant class and for the special meaning access to land had for this class.

Fortunately, a third image is available that blends elements of these other two. Espoused by such RA/FSA officials as Will Alexander, a Southern moderate and the man Tugwell chose as Assistant Administrator of the Re-

34 settlement Administration, this view accepted the viable, independent family farmer as the major goal of the experiment, but differed from the simple Congressional view in two respects: first, by taking a broader view of what viability meant for a tenant class newly embarked on land ownership; and second, by acknowledging a greater need for supervision and rehabilitation assistance to ensure long-term economic stability for these prospective owners. A long-time fighter for black rights in the South, Alexander recognized that, at least for Southern blacks, the acquisition of land meant something far more than mere economic viability: it meant independence, security, the opportunity to develop pride in ownership and to enjoy a measure of control over one's destiny—in a word, escape from the debilitating dependency and degradation of the sharecrop system, and the chance to become what Alexander called "self-reliant individuals."[31] Given this goal, such program elements as extensive supervision, community organization, and delays in transferring property title could be seen not as devices to promote collectivism but rather as necessary steps in transforming a chronically depressed sharecropper population into successful farmowners. C. B. Baldwin, who served in the RA under Tugwell and then replaced Alexander as FSA Administrator in 1940, made this argument repeatedly in his appearances before the House investigating committee in 1943. So long as the resettlement program sought to involve the really submerged agricultural poor instead of "skimming of the cream" as was done in the tenant-purchase program, Baldwin argued, it had to operate a "program of supervised credit" instead of the usual type of credit operation. Trial rental periods and extensive supervision were necessary, therefore, precisely to prepare program participants for eventual ownership, and to equip them to exercise the social and political, as well as economic, independence this status brought with it.[32]

Under this "moderate" view of the goals of resettlement, in other words, some of Mr. Tugwell's methods were defended as necessary tools for the achievement of Congress' aims. Whether disingenuous or not on the part of FSA higher-ups, this view also probably reflected quite well the President's notion of what resettlement should achieve.[33] It essentially viewed the resettlement projects as efforts to demonstrate the possibility—through the provision of land, supervision, and community organization—of converting the South's landless agricultural class into "self-reliant individuals" capable not only of economic survival on moderate-sized family farms, but also full participation in the social and political affairs of their communities.

Given the focus of this report on the black participants in the resettlement program and our interest in the lessons this program holds about the expanded ownership approach to minority development policy, this third definition of the goals of the program seems the most appropriate. Accordingly, we will assess the achievements of the resettlement program not simply in terms of its success at creating a durable cadre of black landowners out of its tenant participants, but also in terms of the impact it had on the well-being, general outlook, and level of civic involvement of these landowners.

Measuring Success: Program Impact Indicators

To go from broad definitions of program objectives to measurable criteria for gauging success in achieving those objectives, a body of theory is necessary that will explain what real world effects that reflect program objectives might reasonably be expected to result from program activities. In the case of the resettlement project experience, at least as it relates to the black participants of primary concern to us here, such a body of theory is available in the rich sociological and anthropological literature on the South's two-caste system.[34] What this literature makes clear is that black landownership has always posed a challenge to the rigid caste code that has long governed Southern life. This code, which subordinated blacks in an accommodating and largely powerless position with respect to whites, rested fundamentally on a pervasive chain of dependence of blacks on whites, beginning with economic dependence and extending to political dependence, social dependence, and ultimately cultural dependence. By providing an opportunity for self-employment, managerial experience, and considerably enlarged discretion over one's own life, landownership promised to weaken this chain of dependence at its most crucial link, and thus to alter the behavior patterns it produced. To the extent this is true, therefore, black landowners, while not necessarily better off financially, can be expected to be more self-reliant, better off nutritionally, more secure psychologically, and more confident of the future than black non-owners.

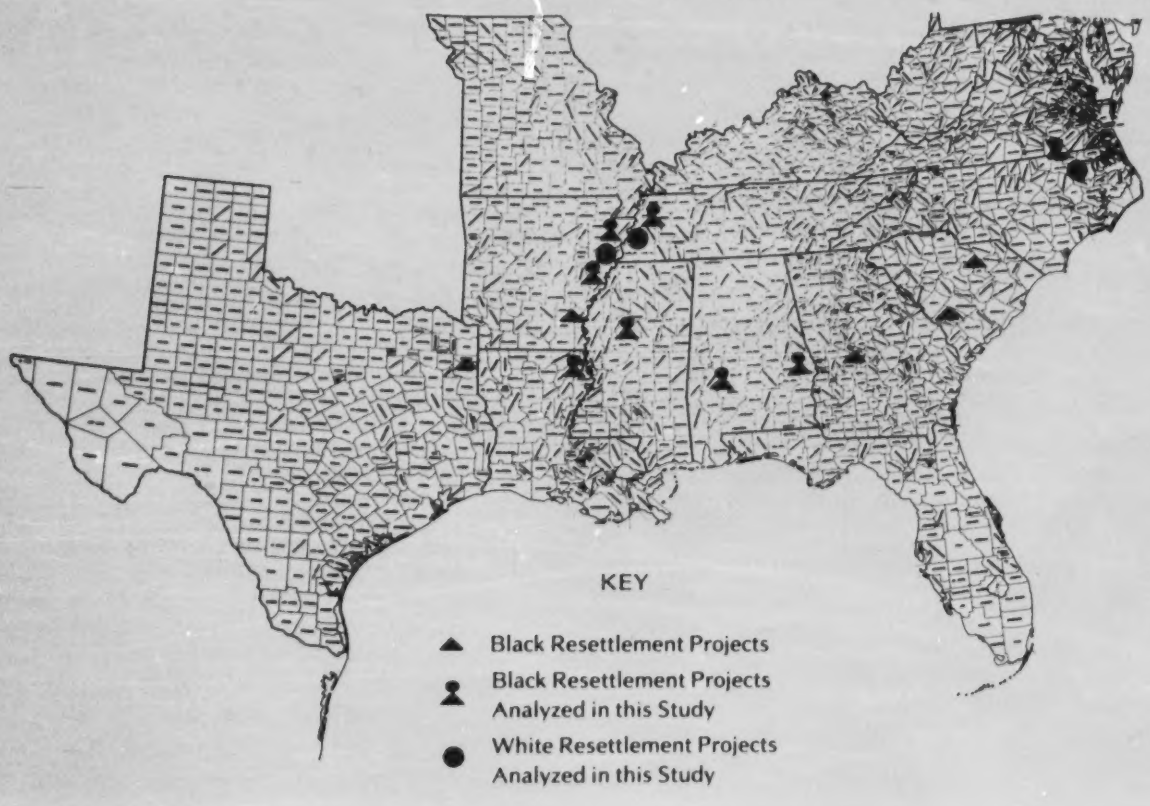
Such expectations are supported, moreover, by existing research, some of it, incidentally, available to the planners of the resettlement experiments. For example, Thomas J. Woofter's fascinating book on the black landowning community in the Sea Islands of South Carolina, published in 1930, convincingly documents the positive impact that landownership had on the health, land utilization, and general sense of self-confidence of Sea Island blacks. "The organization and outlook on life of a community of landowners is radically different from that of Negro tenants occupying the lands of white owners," Woofter noted. "The ownership of soil has been a determining factor in the lives of the St. Helena people."[35] So, too, Arthur Raper discovered that black landowners in Georgia in the mid-1930s tended to be better off financially and nutritionally than other blacks and enjoyed better access to credit and greater prestige within their own communities.[36] More recent research has confirmed some of these same points and demonstrated as well the contribution economic independence and property ownership makes to black political participation[37] and sense of efficacy.[38]

Taken together, therefore, the available literature suggests four basic indicators that are reasonable to use to

measure the extent to which the resettlement program achieved its objective of producing a cadre of "self-reliant individuals." The first is the success project participants, or blacks generally, had in holding on to resettlement project land. Because the resettlement projects were generally located in the plantation belts, and therefore provided somewhat better land and in larger parcels than was typically available to blacks in these states,[39] there is reason to expect that blacks would manage to hold on to this land at least as successfully as they have to other land in the South, and probably more so. The second basic indicator is general well-being, in both economic and social/psychological terms. Third is the level of civic participation, including involvement in social, religious and fraternal organizations as well as in direct political affairs. Finally is the degree of "future orientation," the extent to which project participants developed an entrepreneurial outlook stressing saving and investment for future enjoyment.

To measure these four dimensions of program impact, three different methods were used. First, a detailed search of county land records for eight of the thirteen known all-black resettlement projects was undertaken to trace what happened to each parcel of land conveyed to blacks under the projects. The community projects, and not the "scattered farms," were examined because there was no way to determine which of the participants in the "scattered farm" projects were black, whereas it could safely be assumed that all those deeded land from the U.S. Government at the all-black community projects were blacks. The eight projects examined were selected to achieve a geographic spread, to include both small and large projects, and to embrace the two cases where substantial white and black projects were undertaken in the same county.[40] (See Map 1 for the location of these projects.) Not only did these land searches yield data on the success with which original participants or other blacks held on to their land, however, they also gener-

Map 1
Location of Black Resettlement Projects


KEY
Black Resettlement Projects
Black Resettlement Projects Analyzed in this Study
White Resettlement Projects Analyzed in this Study

ated a rich body of material on access to rural credit by blacks. In fact, we can compare the capital-generating capacity of particular parcels of land while blacks own it to the same capacity when whites own the land, and thereby gain an exceptionally clear picture of the degree of discrimination in rural credit.

In addition to the land and mortgage record searches, we also conducted face-to-face interviews with a sample of 178 of the original project participants we discovered to be still in possession of their land. The owners interviewed were chosen randomly from the lists of original project participants still in control of their land that were generated by the deed searches. A special 21-page interview schedule was created for this phase of the study and pre-tested with the aid of four students in Duke University's Black Oral History Program, who then conducted the interviews with the project landlords.[41] This interview schedule was designed to measure the well-being, civic participation, and future orientation dimensions of resettlement program impact, as well as to learn something about the backgrounds of the participants prior to their participation in the project, about the way the projects worked, and about what the respondent thought about the program. To measure well-being, for example, the interview asked respondents about their current income, their net worth as reflected in ownership of various assets, their general outlook on life (i.e. their level of pessimism or optimism), and the success of their children. Civic participation was tapped through a battery of questions on involvement in various church or fraternal organizations and civil rights activities, as well as participation in political life and contact with the outside world through formal channels of communication. Degree of future orientation, finally, was measured with a series of attitude questions and also with a series of questions seeking to determine what sacrifices respondents had made to educate their children since in a rural farm society, where children are valuable as farm hands regardless of the amount of formal education they receive, parents who keep their children in school or otherwise invest in their educations are expressing a future orientation in the clearest possible terms.

To supplement these interview data, finally, we made use of a unique body of medical and socio-economic data gathered from the black community in one of our project counties—Holmes County, Mississippi—by a community-operated Health Research Project working in conjunction with a University of Illinois research team.[42] This body of data proved helpful in gauging the contribution of the resettlement program to participant well-being.

Table 1 summarizes this evaluation design, noting the basic indicators of program impact and the techniques used to measure each.

Table 1

Measures of Resettlement Program Impact on Black Participants

Type of Impact	Specific Impact Measures	Method
Land Retention	1. Percent of original owners still in control of land	Title searches
	2. Percent of project land still in black hands	Title searches
General Well-Being	1. Income, net worth	Interviews
	2. Hypertension rate	Health Survey
	3. Social outlook, efficacy	Interviews
	4. Children's occupations	Interviews
	5. Loan experience	Interviews
Civic Participation	1. Involvement in clubs	Interviews
	2. Involvement in civil rights movement	
	3. Registration and voting experience	
	4. Extent of political knowledge	
Future Orientation	1. Children's education	Interviews
	2. Provision of educational materials	
	3. Confidence in the future	

Controlling for Non-Program Impacts: The Attribution Problem

Probably the most difficult task in any evaluation is to differentiate program-related impacts from impacts due to extraneous factors. Ideally, this is done by simultaneously collecting information on an experimental group of program participants and a control group that mirrors it. Even under the best of circumstances, however, this ideal is difficult to achieve. Sufficient base-line data are rarely collected and program participants and control group members alike frequently drop out of sight, producing a situation that one analyst has vividly termed "experimental mortality."[43]

For an evaluation of a program now thirty years old, these problems were naturally only compounded. Few early records are available on the original program par-

ticipants, and RA/FSA personnel apparently made no effort to collect data on what would have been the perfect control group, namely the black tenants who resided in the project counties when the projects began, but who did not get a chance to participate. Consequently, we were forced to improvise. In particular, we employed two sets of control groups against which to compare program participants. The first consisted of black landowners generally in the states where resettlement projects were located. Through Census of Agriculture data, it is possible to determine how black landowners fared as a group during the thirty-year evaluation period, and thus to determine whether the better land, technical assistance, and community context that the resettlement program made available to black participants affected their success in retaining the land. The second control group consisted of a sample of tenant farmers now living in the project counties. These tenants serve as the best proxy for the group from which the resettlement program participants were themselves drawn, i.e. the tenants living in the project counties *in the mid-1930s*. In fact, by using the *current* tenants, we probably *under-estimate* program impacts, since the tenants who remained in these counties as of 1974 tended to be the more successful tenants, many of whom also served as equipment operators on their landlords' farms or held other off-farm jobs. By comparing the experiences of the FSA landlords to those of these tenants, therefore, we can gain what is probably a conservative estimate of the impact the resettlement program had on its participants. Accordingly, we interviewed a sample of 100 tenants in the project counties, using a slightly modified version of the project participant interview instrument.[44]

In addition to these two controls, moreover, we also collected data on the land retention record of a group of white tenants who participated in two white resettlement projects located in the same counties as two of the black projects we investigated. Furthermore, we investigated the success of whites who acquired black project land in generating capital against the security of this land. Though not a direct measure of program impact on its black participants, these data do provide an empirical foundation against which to assess the extent to which racial factors inhibited the success of these black participants.

While hardly ideal, therefore, these various controls do shed considerable light on what has happened to the black resettlement project participants in the thirty years since the termination of the resettlement program, and on how those who still retain their land compare—in social, economic, and political terms—to the non-landowning black farm populations in the project counties. Taken together, the resulting data should carry us a good distance toward determining whether the resettlement program did indeed achieve its objective of fostering a cadre of "self-reliant individuals" among its black participants. Let us, therefore, examine these data.

III. Results

Land Retention

In a real sense, the most basic test of the resettlement program so far as its black participants are concerned is the extent of its success in creating a more or less permanent cadre of black landowners. As our interviews confirmed, all but a handful of the blacks who participated in the program were truly chronic tenants, with no previous contact with landownership.[45] The overwhelming majority of them, moreover, stressed their eagerness to acquire land and a home in explaining why they took part in the program. "I wanted a home and some land, but people didn't sell land to colored people in here," one Gee's Bend, Alabama project settler told us. "This thing let me have a piece of the world, and it's worth more than money." "There is no getting around the issue," a Milestone, Mississippi participant concurred, "land is the single most important thing a man can get for himself and his family."

By installing black tenants on 60 to 100 acre plots of farmland in the early 1940s, however, the resettlement program was running headlong against some long-term trends in southern agriculture that were severely undermining the position of the small farmer in general, and the black small farmer in particular. For example, between 1945—which is about when most FSA participants gained title to their land—and 1969—which is the latest date for which comprehensive data are available—the number of black farmowners in the five states of Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina, where our sample projects are located, declined from about 74 thousand to 30 thousand, a drop of 59 percent; and the amount of black-owned farm land decreased from 4.6 million acres to 2.1 million, a drop of 55 percent.[46] In view of these trends, how did the resettlement project participants fare? Did the superior land, generally larger plots, and technical assistance made available to black tenants who became owners under the resettlement experiments allow these former tenants to hold their own in the face of these trends?

The detailed title searches we conducted at eight of the resettlement project sites make it possible to answer these questions. Table 2 presents part of the results of this work. What it shows is that 282 of the 556 black families that secured land in the eight resettlement projects examined here still held this land—in whole or in part—thirty years later. Altogether, about 17,000 of the 41,000 acres of project land still remained in the hands of the original participants after thirty years.

This record compares well with what happened on the white projects we examined (St. Francis River Farms in Poinsett County, Arkansas; Roanoke Farms, located in the same county as the black Tillery Farms project in Halifax County, North Carolina; and the white portion of the Tennessee Farm Tenant Security project in Haywood

Table 2

Change in Ownership of Resettlement Project Land by Original Black Participants

Project	Number of Black Participants* Owning Project Land			Acres Owned by Original Black Participants*		
	1943	1973	% Change	1943	1973	% Change
Gee's Bend (Ala.)	98	57	−41.8%	10,099	4,303	−57.4%
Lakeview (Ark.)	91	48	−47.3	4,580	2,143	−53.2
Mileston (Miss.)	107	34	−68.2	8,421	1,966	−76.7
Mounds (La.)	71	32	−54.9	4,322	1,648	−61.9
Prairie (Ala.)	31	15	−51.6	2,873	1,440	−50.0
Tenn. Farm Tenant (Tenn.)	33	20	−39.3	3,358	1,422	−57.7
Tillery (N.C.)	94	57	−46.8	5,815	2,905	−50.0
Townes (Ark.)	31	19	−38.7	1,779	855	−51.9
Total	556	282	−49.3%	41,247	16,682	−59.6%

*Original black owners still in control includes the heirs of actual original project participants.

County, Tennessee). Of the 202 white participants on these projects, only 68 still held any part of their land thirty years later; and these 68 accounted for only 4,921 of the total 16,682 acres originally involved in these projects. In other words, the number of original owners still in control of project land declined by 66 percent on the white projects, compared to only 49 percent on the black projects; and the number of acres in original participant control declined 70 percent on the white projects, compared to 60 percent on the black projects. (See Table 3)

Whether these results reflect the greater determination of the black participants, the alternative opportunities open to white participants, or other factors, is impossible to say. But it does suggest an impressive level of staying power on the part of the black participants.

This conclusion is further supported when we look a little more closely at the land retention data for the black projects. At first glance, to be sure, it appears that the black recipients of resettlement project land managed to hold on to their land no better than black landowners generally in the five states in which the projects we examined are located. Between 1945 and 1969, the number of black landowners in these five states declined 59 percent and the number of black-owned acres declined 55 percent, roughly equal to the respective rates of decline on the resettlement projects in these states. However, the Census figures only cover the period up to 1969, four years earlier than our resettlement project figures. Assuming that the overall decline in black land ownership in these states that was apparent by 1969 continued through 1973, then more recent figures would show that project participants held on to their land more successfully than black landowners generally. More importantly, Table 2 contains two other significant sources of under-estimation as well. First, it fails to take account

Table 3

Change in Ownership of Resettlement Project Lands, White vs. Black Projects, 1943–1973

	Original Participants			Acres Owned by Originals		
	1943	1973	% Change	1943	1973	% Change
White Projects[a]	202	68	−66.3	16,151	4,921	−69.5
Black Projects[b]	556	282	−49.3	41,247	16,682	−59.6

[a]St. Francis River Farms (Ark.), Roanoke Farms (N.C.), Tennessee Farm Tenant Security (Tenn.)

[b]See Table 1.

of the *non-project land* owned by these FSA beneficiaries. Conceivably, some of those who *sold* their project land could have purchased other land elsewhere. Furthermore, some of the original project participants still in control of project land have acquired additional land as well. Indeed, numerous references in the mortgage records make it clear that several of these black project beneficiaries have blossomed into substantial landowners, owning significant parcels outside the original project area as well as several project tracts. Twenty percent of the FSA participants interviewed, in fact, indicated that they owned additional land beyond that in the original project area, yet none of this acreage is reflected in Table 2. This means that the land owned by these FSA beneficiaries is probably considerably more than Table 2 suggests.

A second source of underestimation of program impacts embodied in Table 2 results from the exclusive concentration on *original* program participants in control of project land instead of on control by blacks generally. In an evaluation of a 30-year old program, after all, Campbell's "experimental mortality" is a literal problem. If program participants averaged 35–40 years old when they purchased their land from the government in and around 1943, this would make them 65–70 years old today. Over 60 percent of our FSA-participant interview respondents, in fact, were over 65 years old, and an additional 27 percent were over 55. A substantial number of those who are recorded in Table 2 as having lost their land probably lost it, therefore, through retirement or death, rather than as a result of some failure in the program or in their abilities as landowners. So long as the land remained in the hands of blacks, it seems unreasonable to consider its loss by the *original* owner a sign of program failure. Given the serious difficulties blacks have traditionally encountered in acquiring fertile farm land in the South because of the threat such ownership posed to the two-caste order, it seems reasonable to credit the resettlement program with a success to the extent that it effectively created a series of small rural islands effectively given over permanently to black ownership, even if the original participants, as they reached old age, sold their land to other blacks.

Viewed from this perspective, the long-term impact of the resettlement experiment is striking. As Table 4 notes, while the total number of black landowners in the states where our eight projects were located declined by 59 percent between 1945 and 1969, the number of blacks that own resettlement project land actually increased by 3.1 percent, even after adjusting for divisions among heirs. Similarly, while the total black-owned acreage in these states declined by 55 percent, the total black-owned acreage on former project lands declined by a substantially smaller 27 percent—about half as much.

The resettlement experiment thus seems to have succeeded moderately well in equipping a group of black tenants with the land and assistance needed to make a go of family farming. More than that, it provided the mechanism for setting aside some relatively good agricultural land for ownership by blacks on a long-term basis, and thus contributed to an absolute increase in the number of black landowners that contrasts sharply with the general decline of these landowners across the South. In short, the experiment achieved some notable long-term successes so far as the Congressional goal of increasing the number of family farmers is concerned. But was it successful as well in promoting the broader goal of creating "self-reliant individuals?" In particular, was the view of the resettlement program that anticipated broader social and political consequences flowing from the elevation of blacks to landownership status proven correct? To answer these questions we must look at additional indicators.

Table 4

Changes in Black Landownership in Eight Former Resettlement Projects and in States Where They are Located

	Number			Acres		
	1945/43	1969/74	% Change	1945/43	1969/74	% Change
All Black Landowners in Ala., Ark., La., Miss., N.C.	73,880	30,002	−59.4	4,584,829	2,073,897	−54.6
Black Landowners on Land Encompassed in 8 former black resettlement projects	556	573	+ 3.1	41,247	29,968	−27.3

Note: The 1945 and 1969 dates are from the Agricultural censuses and apply to the figures for all landowners. The 1943 and 1974 dates apply to the FSA landowners—1943 being the year most titles were transferred and 1974 being the year when our title searches were conducted.

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Well Being

One such indicator is the state of physical and emotional well-being of project families. Woofter found in the case of the "black yeomanry" of the Sea Islands that landownership made an important contribution to family well-being by permitting greater food production and hence better nutrition. He cites the dramatically low infant mortality rate among Sea Island blacks as proof of his point, a conclusion more recent nutritional research would readily confirm. At the same time, Woofter made much of the positive emotional and psychological effects ownership produced by instilling a sense of pride.[47] To what extent can similar consequences be traced to the resettlement experiments?

Before answering this question, it is important to note that the FSA project participants do not seem to have started off with any discernible advantage. As we have seen, all but 8 percent were truly chronic tenants, with no previous landownership. Their educational levels reflect this limited social and economic status: only 16 percent of the FSA landowners indicated they had gone beyond eighth grade in school, well below even the 24 percent figure recorded by our tenant sample.

To what extent, then, did the access to land that the resettlement program offered permit these individuals to escape this status? The answer that emerges from the data we have collected is somewhat mixed, but only somewhat. The first point to note is that whatever contribution the resettlement program made to participant well-being is not reflected very prominently in current income figures. Almost half of all the FSA landowners in our sample reported total annual family incomes below $2,000, and 84 percent reported incomes below $5,000 —roughly comparable, or slightly worse, than the respective figures for the tenants. (See Table 5)

Table 5

Annual Family Income Reported by Sample of FSA Participants and Black Tenant Farmers

Family Income	FSA Participants n = 173	Tenants n = 82
Under $2,000	45.7%	41.5%
$2,000-$5,000	38.7	37.8
Over $5,000	15.5	20.7
Total	99.9%	100.0%

As an indicator of well-being, however, current income figures may be seriously misleading. In the first place, our interview tapped only *cash* income, thus ignoring the value of food products available to the landowner from his own farm. More importantly, the income figures are sensitive to the marked difference in age structure between our landowner and tenant samples. As shown in Table 6, 63 percent of the FSA landowners were over 65 years old when we interviewed them, compared to only 13 percent of the tenants. The landowners were thus more commonly retired, or not actively farming. In fact, 70 percent indicated they were receiving social security, compared to only 31 percent of the tenants.

Table 6

Relative Ages of FSA Participants and Black Tenants in Sample

Age	FSA Participants n = 177	Tenants n = 93
44 years old or less	2.4%	34.6%
45-64 years old	34.4	52.5
65 and over	63.2	12.9
	100.0%	100.0%

Similarly, only 21 percent of the landowners reported an off-farm job—the mainstay of the small Southern farmer in recent years—compared to 49 percent of the tenants.

A better way to assess the economic impact of the resettlement program, therefore, may be to look at net worth as reflected in ownership of particular assets, rather than to look merely at current cash income. When this is done, it becomes clear that the project landowners have been considerably more successful than the tenants in acquiring the critical accouterments of a modest, middle class life-style, at least by rural standards—a car, a refrigerator, an automatic washing machine, a television set, etc. (See Table 7). And, of course, the project landowners also own their homes, which, as one respondent explained, is "the beautifulest thing a man can ever have, to say I'm going home to my own place."

When we look beyond these physical and monetary manifestations of well-being at the emotional and psychological ones, moreover, even more persuasive evidence of the long-run impact of the resettlement experience on participant well-being is apparent. For example, data generated by the Health Research Project in Holmes County, Mississippi indicates that the resettlement project participants in that county are in better nutritional health and have lower levels of hypertension than blacks generally in the county, particularly those owning no land.[48] Our interview data seem to confirm this. Tenant interview responses reflect a significantly greater sense of pessimism and timidity than is apparent is FSA-participant responses. For example, 49 percent of the tenants

Table 7

Ownership of Various Assets by FSA Participants and Black Tenants

	Percent of Total Who Own Recorded Asset	
	FSA Participants n = 178	Tenants n = 93
Tractor	46.1%	29.0%
Truck	40.3	32.3
Car	70.2	59.1
Refrigerator	97.2	93.5
Washing Machine	82.0	53.8
Telephone	88.8	53.8
T.V.	96.6	82.8
Cattle (5 head or more)	21.1	8.6

registered agreement with the statement "These days, a person can't really trust anyone but himself," compared to only 31 percent of the FSA landowners. By the same token, despite the prevailing norms favoring political participation, close to a third of the tenants expressed disinterest in participation and a sense of complete powerlessness, compared to only 12 percent of the FSA landowners. Finally, when asked if people ever come to them for help with their problems, only 30 percent of the tenants could answer yes, and only 4 percent could provide examples of the help they provided. By contrast, about half of the FSA participants indicated they had been of assistance to others, and most could cite examples. Evidently, access to land provided a potent social and psychological boost to project participants. Their responses to an open-ended question inquiring what difference owning land made in their lives speaks eloquently and forcefully to this point:

> "It has made me feel like a man. I feel like I'm somebody."
>
> "Well, it's made me self-reliant. It put me in a position not to look to other people to look out for me."
>
> "It has made me feel secure. I didn't have to depend on anybody for the things I needed. It has made me feel like a real person."
>
> "It has made me feel more independent than I ever felt in my life. Owning land makes a person a different citizen than he has been. He becomes respectable and responsible."
>
> "It's been a good living. You can raise all your vegetable needs. Owning it gives you a much greater feeling of pride. Rather than just working for a white man, we are able to raise our own children."
>
> "Owning land has helped us to live the way we wanted. We worked hard and produced good crops and it was all ours."
>
> "It has helped me a whole lot. I've supported, fed and educated all of my children. Owning land has enabled me to do this. It has made me live better."
>
> "It has been the most important thing in our lives. It has given me a chance to be free."
>
> "It's been a great help. It gives you more recognition if you're a landholder. It gives you more voice."
>
> "It's been very important. You're your own boss. You can do what you want. It's a privilege to own land. It's hard, but it's mine."
>
> "Well, it kinda gives you a feeling of security. Helps you hold your head up more and increases your buying power and things like that."
>
> "It made me my own boss. It gave me a home and the security of owning a home. It made me more willing to speak out and stand up."
>
> "It has made quite a bit of difference. It made me more substantial and independent; it has given me bargaining power. Anything I want to do I do not have much trouble because I have a leverage."
>
> "Owning land makes living conditions better. It brought us up a mighty long way. It gives us a little voice and power to help ourselves out."
>
> "Owning land meant I didn't have to be a slave for somebody else. I always felt independent owning my own land."

The profound sense of heightened self-worth, social standing, and prestige reflected in these comments was apparently not just a figment of the FSA project participants' imagination, moreover. It found more tangible manifestation as well, most notably in the success with which these former down-and-out tenants established on-going business relationships with local white enterprises. Data on the loan histories of the project landowners provides perhaps the clearest demonstration of this point. As part of our land search work, we collected data on all mortgages secured by project land between 1943 and 1973, whether the land remained in black hands or was sold to whites. We thus have available a complete record of the capital-generating capacity of this land, both during the time it was held by blacks and the time it was held by whites.

Given what we know about the character of Southern rural society during this period, we would expect that blacks would do considerably worse than whites in securing loans, even on the same land. As reported in Table 8, however, this turns out not to be the case for the FSA landowners. Once we have converted all loans into constant dollars to take account of changes in purchasing power, and adjusted for the length of time and quantity of land accounted for by whites and blacks, the capital-generating ability of the black landowners turns out to be roughly comparable to that of whites.[9] In the case of long-term credit, in fact, the black landowners

42

Table 8

Capital Generated by Blacks and Whites Through Mortgages on FSA Project Lands,[a] 1943–1973

(All figures in 1967 dollars)

	Amount Borrowed				Amount Borrowed per Acre-Year		
	Short-Term	Long-Term	Total	Acre-Years[b]	Short-Term	Long-Term	Total
Blacks	$3,273,126	$7,324,308	$10,597,433	722,096	$4.53	$10.14	$14.68
Whites	1,535,320	1,841,261	3,376,581	197,930	7.76	9.30	17.06

[a]Projects covered were Lakeview, Mileston, Mounds, Tennessee Farm Tenant Security, Tillery, and Townes.

[b]An "acre-year" is one acre of land owned for one year. A landowner who controls a 40-acre plot for ten years thus accounts for 400 acre-years of ownership (40 × 10).

were actually more successful in generating capital against the security of project land than were white landowners on this same land. Thus black landowners managed to generate an impressive $10.6 million of capital against the security of their project land during the years they were in control of it—an average of $14.68 per acre per year—of which $10.14 per acre per year, or $7.3 million, was long-term credit. The comparable figures for whites were $3.4 million dollars of credit overall, or $17.06 per acre per year, of which $9.30 per acre per year or $1.8 million, was long-term credit.

To be sure, a considerable portion of the black credit, especially the long-term credit, was provided in the form of the original government loan. However, the white loan figures are probably comparably affected by the fact that loans were frequently taken out against more than one parcel of property—much of it outside the project—yet there was usually no way to determine what portion of the loan to apportion to the project land and what proportion to apportion to the non-project land. Since Table 8 generally "charges" the full amount of such loans to the project land, it probably overstates the amount of capital raised by white landowners against the security of project land. In view of this the similarity in the white and black loan figures is all the more striking.

This important finding about the relative success of FSA landowners in generating capital is further supported, moreover, by the landowners' own accounts. Although 79 percent of the project landowners indicated they thought whites had an easier time getting loans or got better terms, and although substantial numbers reported intimidation attempts by white creditors dissatisfied with the landowners' political activity or other behavior, the vast majority (77.7 percent) nevertheless reported "almost no trouble" in getting loans. Of all the types of loans, only land purchase loans seem to have caused any serious problems, and even here the FSA landowners encountered far fewer problems than the tenants. As Table 9 shows, in fact, this pattern was fairly consistent, with tenants reporting more difficulty securing loans almost whatever the purpose and whatever the source. Evidently, what one tenant in Halifax County told us holds true: "If a man ain't got any land, he doesn't have any way to get a loan 'less he has pretty good credit references." "If you own land," an FSA participant from Alabama pointed out, "capital is more available. If you own land, you own a piece of the world."

This is not to say, of course, that ownership of land obliterated all racial discrimination in access to rural credit. Far from it. Loans were still largely tied to farming endeavors and frequently carried stiffer terms than were available to whites. What is more, they were available only in small amounts at a time. Yet there is impressive evidence here to substantiate the view that access to land placed these FSA participants on a far more equal footing than would otherwise have existed, and that it consequently enabled them to establish workable business relationships with local white enterprises and credit sources in ways that contributed significantly to a sense of pride and independence. In short, this mortgage data and reported loan activity seems to lend further support to the notion that the resettlement program made a significant contribution to participant well-being, especially its social and psychological dimensions.

In addition to these data on the well-being of project participants themselves, moreover, there is some evidence in our data that these manifestations of well-being carried over to the project participants' children, permitting them to adjust more successfully than the tenants' children to the tensions and problems of migration. Of the 597 FSA-participants' children over 18 years old and in the labor force, for example, 42 percent are in white

Table 9

Reported Problems in Securing Loans, FSA Landowners vs. Tenants (Figures in parentheses are the number of valid responses)

	Landowners		Tenants	
	%	n	%	n
Have had problems buying land	9.9	(171)	20.2	(89)
Have had problems getting seed and supply loans	13.1	(161)	25.7	(35)
Have had problems getting land purchase loans	26.9	(26)	62.5	(16)
Have had problems getting house loans	15.6	(84)	18.8	(16)
In general, have had trouble getting loans	22.3	(175)	36.2	(69)
Hard to get loans from local banks	30.6	(134)	52.6	(38)
Hard to get loans from equipment dealers	28.2	(103)	42.1	(89)
Hard to get loans from seed stores	26.6	(109)	35.5	(31)
Hard to get loans from car dealers	27.5	(102)	25.0	(44)
Hard to get loans from Farmers Home Admin.	26.6	(143)	44.0	(25)
Hard to get loans from Production Credit Assoc.	10.0	(30)	67.7	(3)

collar occupations. By contrast, only 25 percent of the comparable group of tenant children hold such jobs. (See Table 10). Whether this is because of material benefits, more subtle psychological and social impulses, or just happenstance is impossible to determine for certain. However, recent anthropological research demonstrating the vital role that land has played as an anchoring mechanism for the black extended family and underlining the role that this institution has in turn played as a crucial socializing and facilitating mechanism in the black migration process,[30] certainly lends credence to the view that the FSA experiments can claim some of the credit for the apparently successful adjustment achieved by the children of the participants.

Table 10

Occupations of Children of FSA Participants and Black Tenants

Occupation	FSA Participants n = 597*	Black Tenants n = 261*
Professional, technical, managerial	28.6%	17.2%
Other white collar	13.2	7.3
Blue collar, unemployed	58.1	75.5
Total	99.9%	100.0%

*Includes only children 18 years old and over who are in the labor force.

Though perhaps not fully conclusive, there is thus substantial evidence here to support the hypothesis that the resettlement experiment made a significant, positive contribution to the well-being of its black participants. Because the amount of land provided to participants under the program was still quite meager on any absolute scale, this impact was understandably limited in purely economic terms, at least as measured by cash income. In fact, the only notable complaint the participants had about the program as they reflected back on it was that, as one of them put it, "we weren't given enough land to succeed." Even in purely economic terms, however, the program did have an important impact, allowing its participants to acquire the paraphernalia of a modest middle class life-style, at least by rural standards. Beyond that, moreover, it seems to have contributed quite significantly to participant well-being in psychological and emotional terms, yielding precisely those attributes of self-reliance that program planners hoped for. Whether these people would have fared better had they not taken part in this experiment but rather joined the migrant stream north is, of course, impossible to say. But it *is* possible to say that the program permitted a cadre of former black tenants to survive in the South, to develop a strong sense of self-worth and pride, and to elevate themselves to a modest middle-class social and economic status. In the process, moreover, it seem to have contributed to the success with which the children of these program participants coped with the difficulties of migration themselves.

Civic Participation

Even more dramatic evidence of the impact of the resettlement program on the black tenants who participated is available in our civic participation measures. In a democratic polity, civic involvement and knowledge

about civic affairs are central parts of what it means to be a "self-reliant individual." In fact, even participation in social and religious organizations is important since it can provide an antidote to anomie and insecurity and thus help sustain the social fabric and contribute to personal equilibrium.

Because the agricultural depression that began in the 1920s did such damage to rural social institutions, the resettlement program made the fostering of civic participation a central part of its mission. The mere elevation of tenants to owner status, it was felt, would contribute much to this effort, but this was supplemented as well by community organization and citizenship training activity.

Needless to say, this aspect of the resettlement program was of special importance to rural blacks, whose organizational life and civic involvement had historically been rigidly constrained by the operation of the two-caste system. What is more, as we have noted, access to land could be especially potent as a stimulant to civic involvement for blacks since it promised a degree of economic independence, and hence partial release from the debilitating dependency and enforced passivity that constrained black civic participation under the sharecrop system.

Interestingly, as we have seen, the program participants we interviewed seemed to think that the resettlement program worked just as this line of reasoning suggests. Asked what difference landownership made in their lives, 84 percent of these participants mentioned the sense of independence and security it provided, the chance to "be your own boss."

But to what extent did these landowners make use of this independence and take part in civic affairs? The evidence from our survey is striking. In the first place, despite the caste code's informal discouragement of even vicarious black participation in civic affairs through formal communications media, the FSA landlords developed regular contact with outside events through these media, and did so far more extensively than the tenants interviewed. Thus, 63 percent of the FSA landowners subscribe to agricultural journals, compared to 44 percent of the tenants. By the same token, 40 percent of the landowners subscribe to weekly news magazines, compared to 27 percent of the tenants. (See Table 11) These disparities are all the more noteworthy given the fact mentioned above that the tenants, on the whole, actually have *more* formal education than the landowners.

Beyond this vicarious involvement in civic affairs through the formal communications media, moreover, the project participants turn out to be far more intimately involved than the tenants in the organizational lives of their communities, playing important leadership roles in local church and fraternal organizations. For example, 59 percent indicated they had been a deacon or officer in their church, compared to 24 percent of the

Table 11

Access to Formal, Outside Information Sources by Resettlement Participants and Tenants

	Resettlement Participants n = 176	Tenants n = 93
Subscribes to one or more farm magazine	63.3%	44.1%
Subscribes to one or more news magazine	40.3	27.2
Subscribes to a daily newspaper	41.5	25.8

tenants; 68 percent recorded membership in at least one social organization like the Masons or Elks, compared to only 32 percent of the tenants; 26 percent reported holding an office in such an organization, versus only 5 percent of the tenants; and 44 percent claimed membership in a farm cooperative, as against only 9 percent of the tenants. (See Table 12)

Table 12

Involvement of Black FSA Participants and Tenants in Local Organizational Life

Type of Involvement	Resettlement Participants n = 178	Tenants n = 93
Officer or deacon in church	59.0%	23.7%
Membership in at least one club or social organization	68.0	32.3
Officer in club	26.3	5.4
Membership in farm co-operative	43.5	8.6

When the civil rights movement came along in the 1950s and 1960s, therefore, the FSA landowners emerged naturally as crucial local contacts and grass roots leaders. As Table 13 reveals, the FSA landowners outdistanced the tenants on virtually every indicator of civil rights movement involvement, and the disparity between the two groups was greater the more dangerous the activity. (See Table 13). In fact, a full three-fourths of all the tenants conceded that they had not played a very active role in local civil rights activities at all, even though these activities are now surrounded by a halo of romanticism. By contrast, 53 percent of the FSA project land-

owners indicated they had played a somewhat active or very active part in the movement.

Table 13

Extent of Involvement of FSA Project Landowners and Black Tenants in Various Civil Rights Activities Ranked by Degree of "Dangerousness"

Activity	FSA Project Landowners n = 177	Tenants n = 91
Attended civil rights organization meetings	73.4%	39.6%
Joined a civil rights organization	49.2	19.8
Worked on Voter Registration	24.9	6.6
Signed a petition protesting actions by local whites	25.4	2.2
Ran for political office	19.2	7.7
Had an outside civil rights worker living in home	12.4	1.1

Not only were the FSA landowners involved in the civil rights efforts more extensively than the tenants, but also they were involved earlier, during the critical period prior to federal government intervention in the voting rights struggle in 1965. It was during this period, after all, that civil rights involvement was most risky and that a cadre of local activists was most desperately needed. From all indications, the FSA landowners comprised an important part of this cadre of early activists in most of the project counties. This is most clearly evident in voter registration figures. At the time of our interviews, 98 percent of the landowners reported they were registered to vote, compared to 73 percent of the tenants. More importantly, close to 60 percent of the FSA landowners reported challenging the restrictions on black voter registration *before* the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, compared to only 18.5 percent of the tenants. (See Table 14). Even after discounting these figures somewhat for the age difference between the two groups, this disparity is still striking.

Finally, to complete the picture, this disparity in registration finds reflection in actual voting as well. Ninety-four percent of the FSA landowners claim to have voted in the 1972 Presidential election, 89 percent in the 1968 Presidential election, and 88 percent in the most recent state election. The corresponding figures for the tenants were 68 percent, 56 percent, and 65 percent. This gap is all the more striking, moreover, in view of the political science findings that political participation is generally highest among persons in the age group of our tenant sample and begins to taper off in the age group represented by the FSA landowners.[81]

Table 14

Timing of First Attempt to Register to Vote by Black FSA Project Landowners and Black Tenants

Date	FSA Project Participants n = 160*	Tenants n = 92
Pre-1965	59.4%	18.5%
1965-present	38.7	54.3
Never	1.9	27.2
	100.0%	100.0%

*Excludes 15 respondents who registered but did not indicate year.

What emerges from these data, therefore, is rather strong support for the view that the resettlement experiments had a significant "sleeper effect" in creating an important, black, landed middle-class independent and confident enough to shoulder the burden of challenging the two-caste system once conditions became ripe. Freed from the dependency of the sharecrop system and invested with the prestige customarily accorded the landowner in rural society, the FSA landowners emerged as central pillars of local black organizational life, limited though it was. When the civil rights movement appeared, moreover, they were available to give it local roots and nurture it through the critical incubation period prior to formal federal involvement. The resettlement program thus seems to have had a substantial impact on the level of civic participation of its beneficiaries. However, this impact, anticipated in the implicit goals of the agency, at least as conceptualized by some of its personnel, was nevertheless dormant throughout much of the early post-program period, emerging only after more than a decade had elapsed.

Future Orientation

One final potential resettlement program impact that deserves scrutiny has to do with the effect of the experiment on the participants' orientation towards time. Banfield and others have argued that the poor are chronically afflicted by a preoccupation with the present that makes them unwilling to resist present gratifications and thus unable to increase future benefits—especially the benefits of escaping from poverty.[82] The resettlement program, and the "expanded ownership" philosophy it reflected, by contrast, rest on the conviction that whatever present-orientation might be exhibited by the poor is more a consequence of the situation in which the poor find themselves than it is a consequence of some deep-seated and irreversible cultural trait. Take a sharecropper schooled in the culture of poverty and give him access to land, went the theory, and the result will be a

46 citizen as thrifty, responsible and "future-oriented" as any middle-class burgher, so long as enough time is allowed to elapse for the curative effects of opportunity and responsibility to do their work.

Since the "culture of poverty," or "present orientation" thesis has provided much of the theoretical justification behind the anti-poverty initiatives of the recent past, it is important to evaluate its validity in comparison to that of the theory embodied in the "expanded ownership" approach. Fortunately, the data we collected make it possible to do this, at least in part. Indeed, when we test these alternative theories against the evidence generated by our research, some curious and important findings emerge.

In the first place, the tenants and FSA landowners seem to have strikingly similar, not dissimilar, orientations toward time. Both groups seem doubtful, on balance, about the proposition that it is better to "live pretty much for today," and both are overwhelmingly in agreement that "blacks do have a chance to make something for themselves in the South." (See Table 15) At least so far as avowed values are concerned, therefore, there does not seem to be any class culture at work here at all.

Table 15

Responses of FSA Project Landowners and Black Tenants to Attitude Questions Tapping Degree of Present-Orientation

		FSA Project Landowners n = 177	Tenants n = 92
1. Nowadays, a person has to live pretty much for today	Agree	30%	39%
	Disagree	70	61
2. The condition of the average man is getting worse	Agree	78%	82%
	Disagree	22	18
3. Blacks do have a chance to make something for themselves in the South	Agree	98%	97%
	Disagree	2	3
4. If you start changing things very much, you usually make them worse	Agree	38%	47%
	Disagree	62	53

When we look behind these avowals at actual behavior, however, some significant differences appear. For example, some 43 percent of the FSA landowners indicated they had purchased an encyclopedia, compared to only 29 percent of the tenants. This is significant since, in the rural South, the encyclopedia salesman is a kind of "litmus paper" of class culture, testing the extent to which families are willing to sacrifice their hard-earned money for the future education of their children.

A similar disparity emerges when we compare the educational levels attained by FSA-participant and tenant children. In a generally impoverished rural farm society, where children are useful as breadwinners regardless of their level of formal education, parents who choose to try to keep their children in school or otherwise attend to their education are therefore expressing a future orientation in the clearest possible terms. And, as Table 16 reveals, the FSA landowners seem to have done this significantly more extensively than the tenants. More than 55 percent of the landowner children over 18 years old completed high school, compared to only 42 percent of the tenant children over 18. While allowances must be made for the obstreperousness of youth, this difference still seems noteworthy. Interestingly, however, the tenants interviewed were as enthusiastic about the importance of education and the need to make sacrifices for it as were the landowners. The greater success of the landowners in this respect does not seem to reflect any difference in values or attitudes on their part, therefore, but rather the greater freedom and more substantial resources that control over their own land gave them to put these values into practice. To the extent this is true, it seems reasonable to credit the resettlement experiments with a real contribution not only to the original generation of blacks who secured land under them, but to their children as well. In the process, however, these findings discredit the view that the disparities in behavior between tenants and landowners are a function of something called "class culture," or "present-orientation."

Table 16

Amount of Education Received by Adult Children of FSA Project Landowners and Black Tenants

	Children of FSA Project Landowners* n = 731	Children of Tenants* n = 363
Non-High School Graduate	44.6%	57.6%
High School Graduate	55.4	42.4
	100.0%	100.0%

*Only children 18 years of age or older at the time of the interview are included.

Summary and Conclusions: Social Reform on the Cheap

The resettlement program that was vilified and challenged as a wasteful expenditure of the tax-payers' money thus appears, from the perspective of thirty years, to have been a quite impressive social action undertaking. To be sure, the resettlement projects provided no overall cure for the problems of agricultural overproduction and thus can hardly be defended as central elements in a national farm policy. But as elements of an enlightened anti-poverty policy aimed at alleviating the problems of chronic rural poverty and fostering "self-reliant individuals," they have much to recommend them. At least for the blacks who participated, the resettlement program had a substantial, long-term, positive impact, creating a permanent cadre of black middle-class landowners in possession of decent agricultural land and thus able to escape some of the chronic suffering and debilitating dependence so common to black sharecroppers in the South. Partially insulated from the pressures of economic dependence, these farmowners functioned as strategic links in the spread of democracy in the South during the 1960s and served as well to cushion the strains of migration on their children. The one serious drawback was that by restricting its recipients to 60–100 acre plots, the program failed to provide them with the wherewithal to take a very active part in the mammoth technical changes that have swept Southern agriculture in the past two decades. Yet, it has left behind a base upon which larger-scale, black, land-based enterprises could be built.

Even if we ignore the savings to the public in terms of foregone welfare costs, the benefits of this experiment thus seem substantial. But what of the costs? What was the price of putting this cadre of black tenants on the road to self-regeneration? Table 17 presents the data that are available, showing the net cost to the government for six of the eight projects examined in detail here. The figures are striking. After adding the costs of land purchase, land development, community facilities, and operating expenses, and subtracting the income the government received during the trial rental periods and the returns from sales of project lands, the total outlay for these six projects comes to $1,177,320, or a mere $2,273 per family. And if we consider only the costs directly related to the development of the farming units (i.e. exclude the costs of the community facilities, many of which were later deeded to local governments), the total net cost comes to only $238,041, or $460 per family. Here, certainly, is social reform on the cheap. Even if we were to add the "opportunity cost" to government of having its capital tied up in long-term loans to small black farmowners, this general conclusion would not change substantially. Considering its long-term impacts, the resettlement experiment—at least as it applied to the blacks in the projects we have examined—seems to have been well worth the cost.

Table 17

Net Cost to Government of Six All-Black Resettlement Projects as of June 30, 1945*

Project	1 Units Covered	2 Cost of Land + Development (including community facilities)	3 Operating Expenses	4 Income	5 Return on Sales	6 Net Cost (2 + 3)– (4 + 5)	7 Net Cost Per Family (6 ÷ 1)	8 Net Cost (–) or Profit (+) Per Family (excluding community facilities)
Gee's Bend (Ala.)	88	$ 379,500	$ 71,016	$ 48,860	$ 123,800	$ 277,856	$3,157	–$ 845
Lakeview (Ark.)	124	819,871	141,545	118,058	485,073	358,285	2,889	– 1,074
Mileston (Miss.)	107	730,511	103,375	55,458	592,428	186,000	1,738	– 195
Mounds (La.)	142	768,340	63,739	68,157	548,745	215,177	1,515	+ 24
Prairie (Ala.)	26	148,632	34,144	13,659	87,395	81,722	3,143	– 1,532
Townes (Ark.)	31	163,680	28,053	40,562	150,721	450	15	+ 864
Total	518	$3,010,534	$441,512	$344,754	$1,929,972	$1,177,320	$2,273	$ 460

Source: House Appropriations Committee, Hearings, 1946, 1404-1409, 1411-1419. (Costs reported here are pro-rated on the basis of the number of units sold as of June 30, 1945. No such pro-rating was done in the original.)

*Data on the Tillery Project were reported together with the data on the adjoining white project, making it impossible to determine costs for Tillery alone. The same was true for the black and white portions of the Tennessee Farm Tenant Security Project. Accordingly, the data here cover only six of the eight projects examined in this report.

48 The lessons for policy makers and students of social welfare policy should be clear. In the first place, this evaluation of the resettlement program underlines the importance of a sufficiently long time dimension in evaluating social action undertakings. Evaluators who concentrate exclusively on immediate program impacts and ignore the important "sleeper effects" likely to accompany such policy initiatives are doomed to produce misleading results at best and systematically biased ones at worst. In the process, some of the potentially most promising social action efforts can be erroneously dismissed as ineffective duds and hence scuttled before their true impact can become apparent.[48]

Beyond this, moreover, the resettlement experience provides a powerful demonstration of the value of the "expanded ownership" approach to anti-poverty and minority development policy. What it suggests is that by providing the poor with the opportunity to acquire equity resources and thus to escape poverty by their own exertions, public initiatives can have a profound, long-term, positive effect; an effect that may be quite a bit more substantial than those apparently produced by the existing welfare and service programs.

To be sure, the resettlement program was not wholly successful in these respects. The amount of land it provided each participant was, after all, rather meager on any absolute scale, confining participants to fairly limited livelihoods and offering little opportunity for substantial subsequent development. To improve on this record, therefore, future "expanded ownership" type programs must be more substantial, providing resources ample enough for each participant to make a real start. What should recommend the expanded ownership approach to the attention of policy-makers, in other words, is not its cheapness, but its potency and effectiveness, its ability to help people cope with poverty without pushing them into dependence, its proven success in fostering "self-reliant individuals" instead of welfare serfs. These, at any rate, are the lessons of the resettlement program. In an age of widespread cynicism about governmental performance, particularly in the area of social policy, the resettlement program thus provides a refreshing counter-example, and one that may point the way toward a better approach for the future.

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Appendix I

New Deal Resettlement and Land Rental Cooperative Projects Involving Blacks

I. ALL-BLACK PROJECTS

STATE	PROJECT	COUNTIES	UNITS (Families)	ACRES	YEAR STARTED
Alabama	*Gee's Bend	Wilcox	99	10,188	1937
	*Prairie Farms	Macon	34	3,169	1936
Arkansas	Desha Farms	Desha, Drew	88	4,418	1936
	*Lakeview	Lee, Phillips	135	8,095	N.A.
	*Townes	Crittenden	37	1,921	1936
Georgia	Flint Rivers	Macon	146	12,634	1937
Louisiana	*Mounds	Madison, E. Carroll	149	11,896	1936
Mississippi	*Mileston	Holmes	110	9,350	1936
North Carolina	*Tillery	Halifax	94	5,815	1936
South Carolina	Allendale	Allendale	117	11,395	N.A.
	Tiverton	Sumter	29	1,767	1939
Tennessee	*Tenn. Farm Tenant Security	Haywood + Crockett, Madison, Carroll	33	3,358	1936
Texas	Sabine	Harrison, Panola	80	7,986	1936
SUB-TOTAL			**1,151**	**91,992**	

II. INTEGRATED PROJECTS

19 Scattered Farm Projects	1,117	70,000	
GRAND TOTAL	**2,268**	**161,992**	

Sources: Sterner, *The Negro's Share*, pp. 423–425; Holley, "The Negro and the New Deal," p. 58; House Agriculture Committee, *Hearings on the FSA (1943)*, pp. 1124–1139.

*Projects analyzed in this report.

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Appendix II

Methodology for Tracing Ownership of Resettlement Project Land

The first step in tracing the ownership of resettlement project land was to locate all of the original grants (deeds) from the government. This was accomplished by checking the direct index to deeds (which was normally located in the register of deeds office or the office of the probate judge) for land grants by the government during the 1940s, the period when the resettlement projects were liquidated. A list of these grants was compiled, containing the name of the grantee and a notation of where the deed was recorded (given by the book and page number). Next, each deed was checked to insure that the land involved was actually part of the resettlement project. (This was normally specified in the deed, but in some cases, the property description, i.e., Township, range, and section, had to be checked against the plat map of the project, which was on file in the courthouse.) For each parcel of project land, the price, unit number, date of sale, and acreage were recorded.

After a complete list of the original owners was obtained, the land transactions on each unit were traced by scanning the direct indexes for activities of each owner. This was accomplished by taking each unit individually, and carefully checking the index for the owner's name. Each time the land was mortgaged, sold, or an easement granted, the researcher would record it. Each transaction then had to be checked in the deed and mortgage books to insure that the project land was involved, and to record relevant information, i.e. amount borrowed, interest rate, source of mortgage, duration of mortgage, and date paid off.

After tracing each unit, the property tax records were used to determine the present owner of the land, and this information was then checked against the lists of transactions to make certain that it was accurate and complete. In addition, the assessed value of each unit of the project land was recorded at three points in time: when the land was sold by the government, when the land was traced by the researcher, and a year midway between the two.

In the case of two of the projects which touched two or more counties (Mounds Farms in Louisiana and Tennessee Farm Tenant Security), land tracing was restricted to the county in which most of the project's land fell (Madison Parrish for Mounds Farms and Haywood County for Tennessee Farm Tenant Security).

Foonotes

PART 2

*AUTHOR'S NOTE: This report benefitted greatly from the assistance of Romus Broadway, Albert Broussard, Marsha Darling, Alphine Jefferson, Robert Sullivan, Joseph Carens and David Perry. The first four administered a detailed questionnaire to resettlement project participants in five states, and the latter three collected voluminous land and mortgage data covering a thirty-year time span for eight resettlement projects. To all of them, I am deeply grateful. Thanks are also due the Office of Minority Business Enterprise of the U.S. Department of Commerce for the financial assistance that made this inquiry possible. Naturally, however, full responsibility for the design of the inquiry, for the construction of the data gathering instruments, and for the analysis and interpretation of the results is the author's.

[1] National Advisory Council on Minority Enterprise, *Minority Enterprise and Expanded Ownership: Blueprint for the 1970s* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1971), p. 5.

[2] *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, Part 2 (1861–2), p. 1031, cited in Irving Mark, "The Homestead Ideal and Conservation of the Public Domain," *Journal of Economics and Sociology*, 22 (1963), p. 269.

[3] This stress on minority ownership of equity resources was most clearly evident in the so-called "black power" theories. See, for example, Stokeley Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1967).

[4] *Expanded Ownership*, prepared by the Sabre Foundation by John McClaughry, with the assistance of Samuel Sherer, Cynthia Kappus, and James D. Smith (New York: The Sabre Foundation, 1972), p. 17.

[5] The Office of Economic Opportunity's evaluation of the Special Impact Program is a case in point. Authorized by Title I(d) of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, this program created local community development corporations to undertake economic development activities in different locales. Although OEO, in letting the contract for evaluation of this program, made the unusual gesture of permitting a two-year evaluation period, even this hardly permitted the assessment of long-term changes that is called for. See: *An Evaluation of the Special Impact Program*, Abt Associates, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

For general observations about the importance of the time dimension in evaluative research, see: Lester M. Salamon, "Follow-Ups, Let-Downs, and Sleepers: The Time Dimension in Policy Evaluation," in Charles Jones, *Public Policy Yearbook* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1976).

[6] Because the resettlement project grouped together a host of undertakings launched by several different agencies, these numbers are necessarily rather rough. They are based on material available in the following sources: U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on the Agriculture Department Appropriation Bill for 1947*, 79th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 1390; Paul K. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal*

Community Program (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959); Donald Holley, "The Negro in the New Deal Resettlement Program," *New South*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Winter 1972), pp. 53–65. Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 111–113, 214–217, 336–339. Richard Sterner, *The Negro's Share: A Study of Income, Consumption, Housing and Public Assistance* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1943), pp. 307–309, 423–424; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings of the Select Committee to Investigate the Activities of the Farm Security Administration*, 78th Congress, 1st Session (1943), Part 3, pp. 1124–1131. For a list of the known black resettlement projects, see the Appendix to this report.

[7] John D. Black to Davis, (n.d.), 1943, p. 38, cited in Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, p. 216.

[8] Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, p. 216, emphasis added. In his 1959 study of the resettlement projects, Paul Conkin does venture the judgment that: "For each dollar expended, the communities represented more tangible enduring achievements than most other relief expenditures." However, this judgment does not seem to be based on any systematic calculations of relative costs and benefits, if we are to judge by what Conkin presents in his book, which is essentially a detailed account of the intellectual and programmatic history of the early New Deal community program. Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, p. 331.

[9] Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, pp. 98–116.

[10] Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, p. 62.

[11] Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, pp. 64–67; Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, pp. 131–145.

[12] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, Harper Torchbook Edition (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1944, 1962), Vol. I, pp. 253–258, 265–270; Holley, "The Negro in the New Deal Resettlement Program," p. 54; Charles S. Johnson, Edwin Embree, and Will Alexander, *The Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936), pp. 34–63.

[13] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, *Toward Farm Security* (Washington, 1941), p. 49.

[14] Johnson, et al., *Collapse of Cotton Tenancy;* Sterner, *The Negro's Share;* Arthur F. Raper, *Preface to Peasantry* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1936).

[15] Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, pp. 146–176; Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, pp. 103–106.

[16] Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, p. 106–108.

[17] Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, pp. 167, 336–337.

[18] Holley, "The Negro in the New Deal Resettlement Program," pp. 58–60; Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, pp. 197–209; Personal Interview with Mr. James Bryant, FSA director at Mounds Farm, Talulah, Louisiana, February 8, 1974.

[19] Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, p. 190.

[20] U.S. Congress, House Agriculture Committee, Select Committee to Investigate the Activities of the FSA, *Hearings*, Part I, pp. 49–53; Part III, p. 1030. Unlike the RA projects, the FSA took care in the new projects not to purchase the land itself, but to establish local corporations—frequently composed of local FSA officials—which formally purchased the land utilizing funds loaned to it under the rural rehabilitation program. Several existing projects were also shifted to this new arrangement. In 1938–39 alone, arrangements were made for 827 families to combine and lease 17 cotton plantations in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, pp. 105–106.

[21] Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, p. 215.

[22] In one of the few academic evaluations of the resettlement experience, for example, the author took pains to stress that "not enough time has elapsed to permit a mature judging of the results." George Wehrwein, "Appraisal of Resettlement," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XIX (1937), p. 190. See also: Leonard Salter, Jr., "Research and Subsistence Homesteads," *Rural Sociology*, II (1937), pp. 208–210.

[23] House Agriculture Committee, *Hearings on FSA* (1943), I, 6.

[24] U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings on the 1947 Agriculture Department Appropriations Bill*, 79th Congress, 2nd Session (1946), p. 1390.

[25] Glen G. Cain and Robinson G. Hollister, "The Methodology of Evaluating Social Action Programs," in Peter Rossi and W. Williams, *Evaluating Social Action Programs*, p. 114; see also: Edward A. Suchman, *Evaluative Research: Principles and Practices in Public Service and Social Action Programs* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967). p. 37.

[26] Herbert Hyman, Charles R. Wright, and Terence K. Hopkins, *Applications of Methods of Evaluation: Four Studies of the Encampment for Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 26; Henry W. Riecken, *The Volunteer Work Camp: A Psychological Evaluation* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Press, 1952), pp. 16–17.

[27] Executive Order 7027, 1936.

[28] Rexford Tugwell, "Cooperation and Resettlement," *Current History*, XLV (February 1937); Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, pp. 102, 153–160, 202; Rexford Tugwell, "Changing Acres," *Current History*, XLIV (September 1936); Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, pp. 87–89.

[29] Quoted in Conkin, *Tomorrow a New World*, p. 87.

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[30] House Agriculture Committee, *Hearings on FSA*, 1943, Part II, pp. 20–21, 55.

[31] Will Alexander, "Rural Resettlement," *Southern Review*, I (1936), p. 532. See also Alexander's Foreword to Arthur Raper's *Preface to Peasantry*, which calls for a "new land policy" that will rehabilitate people as well as land by "affording an opportunity for ownership of the land by the man who works it." *Preface to Peasantry* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), p. x.

[32] House Agriculture Committee, Hearing on the FSA (1943), p. 7.

[33] See FDR's 1937 State of the Union Message, quoted in Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics*, p. 167.

[34] See, for example, Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South: A Social-Anthropological Study of Caste and Class* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); John Dollard, *Caste and Class in Southerntown* (3rd ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1957); Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Dial Press, Inc., 1968); Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., Torchbook, 1969), particularly 667–736; Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1969).

[35] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930), pp. 245, 137.

[36] Arthur Raper, *Preface to Peasantry*, pp. 138–141.

[37] Lester M. Salamon and Steven Van Evera, "Fear, Apathy, and Discrimination: A Test of Three Explanations of Political Participation," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 67 (December 1973), pp. 1288–1306.

[38] William A. Stacey, *Black Home Ownership: A Sociological Case Study of Metropolitan Jacksonville* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), pp. viii, 82.

[39] As Raper makes clear, blacks could usually only buy land not desired by whites, and even then only by means of "a most exacting and highly selective procedure." Raper, *Preface to Peasantry*, p. 122.

[40] Appendix I records the location and size of each of the projects selected. For a detailed description of the methodology used in tracing these land records, see Appendix II. I am indebted to Robert Sullivan for tracing ownership patterns at seven of these sites, and to Joseph Carens and David Perry for tracing the eighth.

[41] These interviews were conducted during the summer of 1974. The interviewers were Marsha Darling, Romus Broadway, Albert Broussard and Alphine Jefferson. Their skill and resourcefulness in handling this difficult chore are greatly appreciated. Also immensely helpful was the assistance of Professor Lawrence Goodwyn, Director of the Duke Oral History Program.

The table below records the populations and target sample sizes for each of the projects. Sample sizes were determined using standard small sample procedures, and respondents were chosen with the aid of a random number table from lists of original project participants identified in our land surveys as being still in possession of their land. For this purpose, heirs of original participants were considered appropriate respondents.

FSA Participant Interview Sample

Project	Total Original Owners Still in Control of Project Land	Sample Size
Gee's Bend (Ala.)	57	39
Lakeview (Ark.)	48	32
Mileston (Miss.)	34	28
Mounds Farms (La.)	32	26
Tillery (N.C.)	32	24
Tenn. Farm Tenant	20	14
Townes (Ark.)	19	15
TOTAL	242	178

[42] I am grateful to the Board of Directors of the Milton Olive III Memorial Corporation, and to its Executive Director, Mr. Eddie Logan, for permission to use these data, as well as to Dr. Demitri Shimkin and Dr. Dennis Frate of the University of Illinois for assistance in assembling them.

[43] Donald T. Campbell, "Factors Relevant to the Validity of Experiments in Social Settings," *Psychological Bulletin*, LIV (1957).

[44] The tenant sample was compiled with the aid of a random number table applied to the lists of tenant farmers available in the local offices of the U.S. Department of Agriculture's Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service. The number of tenants in the sample from each county was designed to make it proportional to the number of resettlement project participants interviewed in that county, thus guaranteeing some symmetry in the experimental and control group samples.

Because of the cumbersomeness of the sampling procedure, no tenant interviews were conducted in the two counties with the smallest projects. In addition, seven of the projected 100 tenant interviews proved unuseable, producing a tenant sample of 93.

[45] Only 13 of the 178 program participants interviewed indicated they had ever owned land before the resettlement program appeared.

[46] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Census of Agriculture*, 1945 and 1969.

[47] T. J. Woofter, *Black Yeomanry*, pp. 7–11, 136, 245.

[48] Interview with Dr. Demitri Shimkin and Dennis Frate, September 5, 1974, Urbana, Illinois. The full data set from the Holmes County Health Research Project is not yet available.

[49] Conversion of all loans to constant dollars was necessary because the black landowners tended to own the land during the early period, when the dollar was worth more. Hence their loans would appear artificially small compared to those taken out by whites later, even if they represented the same amount of purchasing power. To correct for this, we converted all loan amounts to 1967 dollars. The adjustment for span and scope of ownership was accomplished by multiplying the number of acres by the number of years of ownership for each owner to give the number of "acre-years" and then adding the number of "acre-years" accounted for by black and white owners separately.

[50] Demitri Shimkin, Gloria Louie, and Dennis Frate, *The Black Extended Family: A Basic Rural Institution and a Mechanism of Urban Adaptation*, IX International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1973.

[51] See, for example, Lester Milbrath, *Political Participation* (Chicago: Rand-McNally Co., 1965). For evidence on the drop-off in participation at the upper end of the age scale in the 1972 Presidential election, see *U.S. Statistical Abstract* (1973), p. 379.

[52] Edward C. Banfield, *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1958); Edward C. Banfield, *The Unheavenly City* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1969), pp. 45–66.

[53] For a fuller discussion of these points, see Lester M. Salamon, "Follow-Ups, Let-Downs, and Sleepers: The Time Dimension in Policy Evaluation," in Charles Jones, editor, *Public Policy Yearbook* (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1976).

3

Public Land and Minority Enterprise:

A New Policy Option

PART THREE

Preface

Against the backdrop of Part One's examination of the location, uses, and changes of minority land resources, and Part Two's demonstration of the utility of an "expanded ownership" approach, it is now time to begin considering practical ways to implement a minority business development strategy utilizing existing minority-owned land as a base. In this Part, therefore, we turn our attention to one such idea: the possibility of giving minority landowners access to federally owned land in ways that would contribute to the viability of existing minority farm enterprises.

To be sure, this is not the only policy initiative that should flow from a concern about the decline of minority land resources. It is, however, an initiative that could yield substantial results quickly and with only modest outlays of funds. It is, therefore, an idea well worth considering while work on more comprehensive approaches goes forward.

Accordingly, this Part examines the possibilities for utilizing publicly owned lands in a minority business development strategy. In particular, it analyzes the location of public lands in relation to minority lands in the southeast, reviews the commercial opportunities available on these lands, and argues for a public land policy that promotes minority business development.

Much of the data on which this report is based derives from unpublished documents made available by the federal agencies with substantial land holdings in the southeast, most notaby the Forest Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the Army Corps of Engineers, the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, and the National Park Service. To the numerous personnel in the national and regional offices of these agencies, I am deeply grateful for their assistance and cooperation. Without it, this report could never have been prepared. In addition, I am grateful to David Perry for his diligent and persistent research assistance in compiling much of the data reported here. Needless to say, however, the findings and conclusions are those of the author alone.

Lester M. Salamon, Director
Duke-OMBE Land Project

Summary of Principal Findings

1. Black landowners have been losing their land at a rapid rate in the South, in large part because the size of their individual holdings is not sufficient to generate an adequate income. In the process, a unique and vitally important minority equity resource is fast disappearing.
2. One relatively inexpensive way to alter this trend might be to make publicly owned land available for use by black landowners on advantageous terms, thus enlarging the land resources available to minority agricultural enterprises and expanding their profit levels. Such a use finds ample precedent in U.S. public land policy which has historically contained an important social welfare dimension in addition to the more narrow conservation vs. development dimension that has dominated discussion of public land law in more recent years.
3. Federal landownership is quite extensive in the South, where most black-owned land is concentrated. In the eight states of the southeast, the United States Government owns 14.4 million acres of land, approximately 6 percent of the land area of these states. The federal government is thus the largest single landowner in these states.
4. Of this 14.4 million acres, 85 percent is owned by just four federal agencies—the U.S. Forest Service, the Corps of Engineers, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the National Park Service. The Forest Service alone owns 8.9 million acres of land in these states, 62 percent of the total federal land.
5. Much of this federal land is located in close proximity to minority-owned acreage. Of the 293 southeastern counties with major federal landholdings, in fact, 177 also contain substantial minority-owned land. Taken together, these 177 counties contain 1.9 million acres of black-owned land.
6. Commercial activity is already quite extensive on federal landholdings in the southeast. The Forest Service, for example, permits timber cutting and livestock grazing on its lands through a system of competitive bidding. The Corps of Engineers rents at least 100,000 acres of rich river-bottom land out to private farmers in these same states at

quite low rates. The Fish and Wildlife Service makes provision for share-crop farming, grazing, and assorted other uses on its lands in the southeast. All of these uses suggest some real possibilities for systematically utilizing public land in a land-based minority development strategy.

7. The use of public lands to accommodate the grazing needs of minority-owned beef cattle enterprises is one of the most interesting of these possibilities. The Forest Service, in fact, is now actively considering a substantial expansion of grazing on its southeastern holdings in order to accommodate the expected increase in demand for livestock forage as grain feeding grows increasingly expensive. Much of the Forest Service land slated for expanded grazing is located in close proximity to extensive minority-owned land.
8. Public lands could also contribute substantially to other minority enterprise development options as well, including a variety of specialty crop production activities and timber operations.
9. To take advantage of the minority development potentials available through utilization of public lands, at least four kinds of activities will be needed:
   a. *Research:* Detailed investigation at the individual enterprise level to determine how particular groups of minority landowners can make profitable use of the public lands in their locale.
   b. *Education:* Circulation among relevant decision-makers of existing research demonstrating the technical efficiency of one-to-two man farm enterprises, and the formulation of plans for farm enterprises utilizing public and private lands.
   c. *Reorientation:* Redirection of public land management practices to stress the social welfare dimension of public land policy, and the formulation of special arrangements to encourage the profitable utilization of public lands by minority landowners and other minority-owned businesses.
   d. *Publicity:* Promotional efforts to inform minority landowners of the commercial opportunities available on public lands in their vicinity, coupled with a survey to determine the level of their knowledge and the nature of program elements needed to make minority use of public lands economically profitable for the landowners.
10. Although these changes will not solve the minority development problems of the Nation, they could help substantially to stabilize a seriously endangered minority business community, slow the loss of a unique minority equity resource, and contribute to the emergence of a cadre of successful minority agricultural entrepreneurs—all at negligible or exceptionally low cost.

Introduction

Eighty percent of all black-controlled agricultural land in the United States—approximately 4.5 million acres of land according to the latest Agricultural Census—is located in the eight Southern states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. In none of these states, however, does the average size of black-owned farms exceed 80 acres.[19] As a consequence, black landowners have had a difficult time coping with the technological changes sweeping Southern agriculture and have been losing their land at an alarming rate. In these eight states alone, 4 million acres of land passed out of black ownership between 1954 and 1969. Unless black landowners can find ways to enlarge the land resources available for their farm enterprises, moreover, this trend is likely to continue. Yet the recent escalation of land prices, the historic disadvantage blacks have had in securing credit, and the increased cost of rental land are all at work to prevent such enlargement.

The purpose of this report is to explore one possible, if partial, solution to this dilemma: the utilization of federally-owned land by minority landowners. In the eight states under consideration here, the United States Government owns 14.4 million acres of land, 12.8 million of it in the hands of civilian agencies. Moreover, much of this federal land is located in counties with considerable black landownership. Of the 293 counties with federal land in these eight states, in fact, 177 also contain 500 or more acres of black-owned land. (See Map 1). If this land is suitable and could be made available for use by minority farmers, particularly if this could be done without impairing the value of the land and its resources, the result could be a significant boost to minority enterprise activity at minimal budgetary and social cost. Moreover, such an approach would build upon an existing, minority-owned equity base and help to sustain it.

To assess the viability of utilizing publicly owned land in a land-based minority enterprise development strategy, three questions must be addressed:

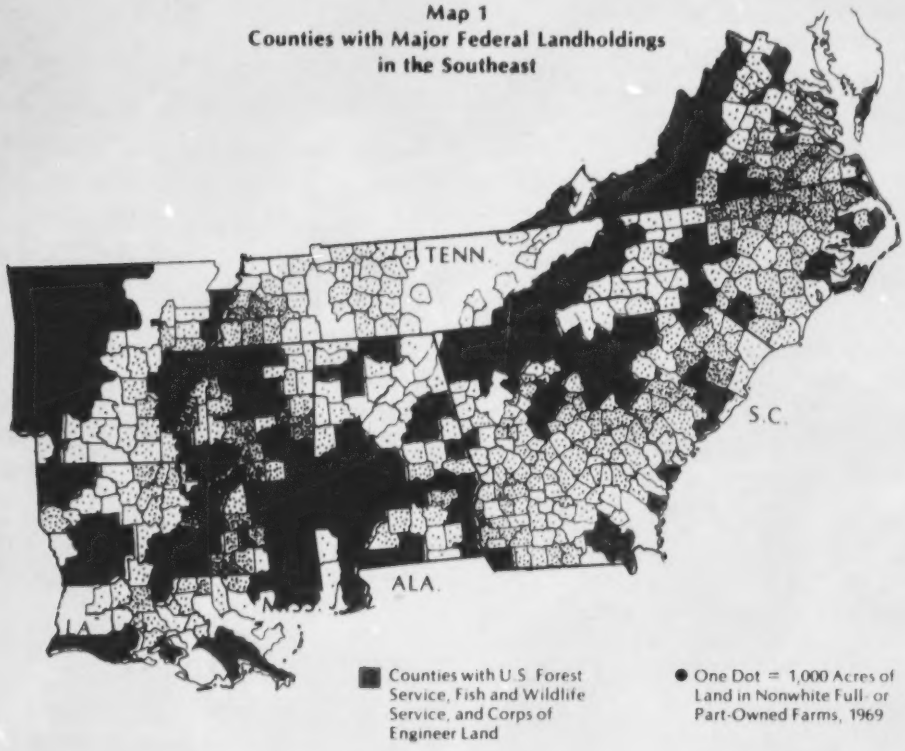
(1) What is the extent, character, and use of federally owned land in these eight target states?

(2) Where is federally owned land located in relation to black-owned land?

(3) How can black landowners use public land and what contribution will this make to the viability of their enterprises?

Because this is an avowedly exploratory report, most of the attention focuses on the first two of these questions. However, some interesting insights emerge from this work that point to answers to the third question as well.

Map 1
Counties with Major Federal Landholdings in the Southeast


TENN.
S.C.
ALA.
Counties with U.S. Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and Corps of Engineer Land
One Dot = 1,000 Acres of Land in Nonwhite Full- or Part-Owned Farms, 1969

In approaching these questions, we take as given that the public land under scrutiny will remain in public hands. In other words, we are not directly exploring the potentials for dissolution of the public domain and its transfer to minority ownership, even though there is ample precedent for such transfer in the history of U.S. public land law, especially the Homestead Act of 1862. In fact, after the Civil War, hopes ran high that the 47.7 million acres of federal land in the South reserved for homesteading would enable blacks and poor whites to become independent landed proprietors. But these hopes failed to take account of the extremely poor character of the land that remained in federal ownership at the end of the Civil War. As it turned out, therefore, the homestead ideal that numerous whites were able to achieve in the North and West never came to fruition for blacks in the South[3]. Whether some effort should be made to fulfill this ideal for Southern blacks today through the dissolution of portions of the public domain is an issue well worth considering.[3] But it is not our main concern here.

Rather, the focus here is on strategies for utilizing public lands to promote minority enterprise in ways short of transfer of title or permanent alteration in the character or use of the land. For this more limited range of strategies, the precedent in public land law is all the more substantial. Although the debate over public land questions has focused in recent years almost exclusively on the competing goals of resource exploitation vs. conservation, historically a third dimension also played an important role in the debate. This third dimension was the social welfare function of public land, the utilization of the public domain to meet national social priorities. This dimension took shape in the mid-19th century, when the prevailing practice of selling public lands for general revenue gave way to a policy of land grants for particular social welfare purposes. The Republican victory in the Presidential election of 1860, which paved the way for passage of the Homestead Act in 1862, was a bellwether of this change; but, it was preceded by land grants for special schools for the handicapped and followed by grants for technical schools, universities, public education, swamp drainage, and canal and railroad building.[4]

In the current situation, closing the income gap bequeathed by generations of racial deprivation is as urgent a matter of national policy, and as important a potential contributor to the unification and solidification of the nation, as was the transcontinental railroad in its day. To the extent that public land can be utilized in this effort, particularly if this can be done without permanently impairing the land itself, there is thus ample precedent in the history of public land law to justify the special accommodations that might be necessary. The task, then, is to explore whether some such potentials really exist. To do so, we look first at the overall pattern

* Footnotes to this part begin on p. 74.

58 of federal landownership in our eight target states, and then examine in greater detail the holdings of each of the four major federal agencies with lands in these states.

I. Overview: Federal Lands in the South

The federal government is the largest single landowner in the eight states with which this study is concerned (Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas). But federally owned land is distributed unequally among these states, ranging from a low of about 1 million acres in Louisiana to a high of almost 3.2 million acres in Arkansas. Correspondingly, the federal share of total state acreage varies from a low of about 3.4 percent in Alabama and Louisiana to a high of 9.5 percent in Arkansas. (See Table 1).

Not all of this land is equally available for minority development activities, however. As Table 2 indicates, close to 3 million of the 14.4 million acres of federally owned land in these states is used for military, hydroelectric power, institutional, or port and industrial purposes, and another 1.3 million is reserved for flood control, much of this latter in the form of dams and lakes.

This pattern of predominant usage reflects, in turn, the pattern of ownership of this land among the different federal agencies. Altogether, 33 federal agencies own land in these eight states. However, as Table 3 indicates, 85 percent of this land is administered by just four agencies—the Forest Service, the Corps of Engineers, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and the National Park Service. Each of these agencies—and particularly the first three—makes some commercial use of its land, moreover. To understand the potentials for utilizing publicly owned land in a minority enterprise development strategy, therefore, it is necessary to look in more detail at the distribution and use of the land controlled by these four agencies.

Table 1

Comparison of Federally Owned Land With Total Acreage in Eight Southern States, 1972

State	Acreage Owned by Federal Govt.	Total Acreage of State	Federal Land as Percent of Total State Acreage
Alabama	1,108,049	32,678,400	3.4
Arkansas	3,174,718	33,599,360	9.5
Georgia	2,188,115	37,295,360	5.9
Louisiana	1,038,454	28,867,840	3.6
Mississippi	1,575,896	30,222,720	5.2
North Carolina	1,942,221	31,402,880	6.2
South Carolina	1,141,452	19,374,080	5.9
Virginia	2,248,518	25,496,320	8.8
Total	**14,417,423**	**238,936,940**	**6.0%**

Source: **Inventory Report on Real Property Owned by the United States Throughout the World as of June 30, 1972,** (General Services Administration, Washington, D.C., 1972).

Table 3

Federally Owned Land in Eight Southern States, by Agency and State, as of June 30, 1971 (in thousands of acres)

Agency	Ala.	Ark.	Ga.	La.	Miss.	N.C.	S.C.	Va.	Total
Forest Service	634.0	2,454.1	837.2	594.8	1,136.1	1,133.4	594.6	1,531.3	8,915.2
Corps of Engineers	62.6	488.2	323.1	62.1	295.4	58.0	99.9	113.8	1,503.2
Fish & Wildlife	9.0	124.4	428.4	230.9	58.6	113.3	138.1	17.8	1,120.5
Park Service	6.2	5.6	15.4	—	29.9	334.2	4.0	267.5	662.9
Army	170.4	86.1	524.8	116.4	4.5	143.0	53.7	159.3	1,258.1
Navy	3.6	—	10.7	5.0	11.2	116.5	33.5	109.4	289.8
Air Force	5.7	9.4	11.6	25.0	6.2	3.3	14.7	7.1	90.0
TVA	211.6	—	9.5	—	9.2	22.0	—	—	252.3
NASA	—	—	—	—	20.9	—	—	—	20.9
AEC	—	—	—	—	—	—	198.3	—	198.3
Other	4.9	7.0	27.4	4.4	3.9	18.4	14.7	42.4	106.1
Total	**1,108.0**	**3,174.7**	**2,188.1**	**1,038.5**	**1,575.9**	**1,942.2**	**1,141.5**	**2,248.5**	**14,417.4**

Source: Public Land Statistics 1972 (Bureau of Land Management, Washington, D.C.)

Table 2

"Predominant Usage" of Federal Land in Eight Southern States

Predominant Use	Acres of Federal Land (in thousands)
Agriculture	—
Grazing	—
Forests and Wildlife	10,064
Historic Sites and Parks	666
Military (excluding air fields)	1,120
Airfields	224
Power Development and Distribution	468
Flood Control and Navigation	1,306
Institutional	212
Research and Development	43
Ports, Industrial, Miscellaneous	314
Total	14,417

II. Major Types of Federal Land Holdings in the South: Distribution and Uses

U.S. Forest Service

The U.S. Forest Service, as indicated in Table 3, is by far the largest federal landowner in the Southeast, controlling almost 9 million out of the 14.4 million acres of federal land in the region. In no state does the Forest Service own less than 500,000 acres of land, and in all but one of the eight its holdings exceed the combined holdings of all the other federal agencies, including the military. (See Table 4).

Table 4

Forest Service Land as a Percentage of All Federally Owned Land in Eight Southern States

State	Forest Service as % of Federal Land	State	Forest Service as % of Federal Land
Alabama	57	Georgia	38
Arkansas	77	North Carolina	58
Louisiana	57	South Carolina	52
Mississippi	72	Virginia	68

Aside from some acreage in experiment stations, the bulk of the Forest Service land is accounted for by the region's 25 national forests. These forests stretch across portions of 177 counties in the eight states under consideration here. Of these 177 counties, moreover, 86 contain 500 acres or more of black-owned land. Map 2 depicts this relationship between Forest Service land and black-owned land vividly, demonstrating the heavy overlap that exists in the cases of at least eight major national forests (the Himochitto, Holly Springs, Bienville and Tombigbee in Mississippi; the Talladega and Tuskegee in Alabama; the Sumter in South Carolina; and the Oconee in Georgia). As Table 5 indicates, more than 790,000 acres of land controlled by close to 9000 black landowners lie within the counties that form the perimeters of these national forests. (See Appendix Table 1 for a complete listing of these forests, the counties they touch, and the acreage they contain in each county).

Map 2

Location of U.S. Forest Service Land in Relation to Minority—Owned Land in the Southeast

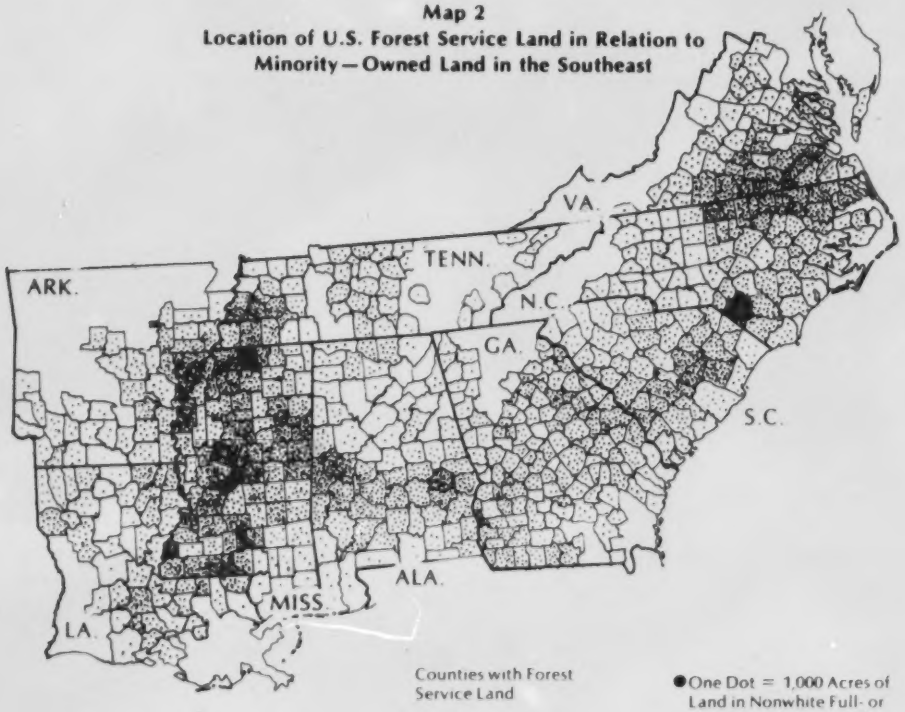


Table 5

Extent of Black-Owned Land in the Vicinity of U.S. Forest Service (FS) Land in Eight Southern States

State	All Counties with F.S. Land	F.S. Counties with 500+ acres of black land	Acres of Black Land in F.S. Counties	No. of Black Landowners in F.S. Counties
Alabama	15	12	110,997	1,525
Arkansas	29	5	85,518	795
Georgia	25	10	34,331	264
Louisiana	7	5	38,279	359
Mississippi	33	31	410,434	4,430
North Carolina	25	4	16,498	310
South Carolina	13	13	79,172	1,136
Virginia	30	6	17,284	124
Total	**177**	**86**	**792,513**	**8,943**

Table 6

Revenues from National Forests in Eight Southern States, Fiscal Year 1973

State	Total Receipts	County Allocation
Alabama	$ 1,189,454	$ 297,263
Arkansas	4,446,062	968,198
Georgia	1,422,506	355,626
Louisiana	5,742,846	1,435,711
Mississippi	6,649,815	1,662,454
North Carolina	1,010,605	252,693
South Carolina	3,170,446	792,611
Virginia	438,187	101,835
Total	**$24,069,921**	**$5,866,391**

What makes this overlap particularly significant is the pattern of usage of this forest land. Unlike the national forests of the western public land states, which are carved out of existing federal land holdings, the Southern forests were specifically purchased by the government over the past 60 years largely for conservation purposes, under the authority of the Weeks Forest Purchase Act of 1911 and subsequent legislation. While this has made the Forest Service particularly attentive to conservation practices on the southeastern national forests, however, it has hardly closed these areas to commercial activity. To the contrary, the southeastern forests, like those elsewhere in the nation, are managed under the "multiple use and sustained yield" principle incorporated in the Multiple Use Act of 1960 (15 U.S.C. 528–531). The "multiple use" portion of this principle requires that forest lands be made available for a host of commercial and non-commercial purposes, including logging, grazing for livestock, wildlife refuges, hunting, and recreation. The "sustained yield" part of the standard requires that these uses be regulated in such a way as to:

> . . . achieve and maintain in perpetuity . . . a high-level annual or regular periodic output of the various renewable resources of the national forests without impairment of the productivity of the land. [P.L.83–517].

As Table 6 indicates, the national forests in the eight states with which we are concerned do generate significant revenues. For the 1973 fiscal year, these revenues amounted to $24,069,921, about half of it from the forests in just two states—Mississippi and Louisiana.

For the most part, these revenues derive from a single source: the sale of timber. As Table 7 makes clear, timber operations accounted for more than 90 percent of all Forest Service collections in the southeastern forests.[8] As is readily apparent, moreover, the greatest volume of timber cutting takes place in the fast-growing loblolly

Table 7

Sources of Forest Service Revenue in the Southeastern National Forests, Fiscal Year 1973

State	Timber	Grazing	Land Use	Power	Minerals	Admissions, User Fees	TOTAL
Alabama	$ 1,053,087	$ 433	$ 1,883	$ 2,739	$ 98,543	$ 32,683	$ 1,189,454
Arkansas	4,168,567	13,148	30,030	1,982	173,796	52,165	4,446,062
Georgia	1,357,303	122	12,053	777	16,395	30,124	1,422,506
Louisiana	5,527,473	5,177	6,577	7,373	166,017	23,508	5,742,846
Mississippi	5,315,602	3,086	16,059	3,236	683,468	28,356	6,649,815
N. Carolina	942,065	—	11,863	5,291	1,656	45,409	1,010,605
S. Carolina	3,153,460	36	10,083	919	40	5,846	3,170,446
Virginia	337,428	656	10,301	3,046	14,783	70,106	438,187
Total	**$21,854,985**	**$21,966**	**$98,849**	**$25,363**	**$1,154,698**	**$288,197**	**$24,069,921**

pine forest of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Arkansas, areas which coincidentally have substantial concentrations of black populations and considerable black landownership. From all indications, however, few—if any—blacks take part in this activity except as employees of white-owned firms. In substantial measure, this is a product of the heavy capital investment requirements of logging operations, and the frequently risky character of the business. In part, however, it is also the product of lack of information[6] and the character of contracting procedures. Timber rights on the national forests are secured by competitive bidding. Forest Service teams are required to survey and appraise the area to be logged, advertise the sale for thirty days, receive bids, and then award the rights to the highest bidder. In the normal course of events, however, a handful of larger operators can dominate the bidding in each locale. Though Congress attempted to guard against this by enacting a special program setting aside a portion of all timber sales within each forest for small businessmen, most of these allocations are never claimed due to an absence of viable bids.

If timber production is the most significant *existing* commercial use of the southeastern national forests, grazing is the most significant *potential* use. Under Forest Service regulations, the Chief of the Service is authorized to permit and regulate the grazing of all kinds of livestock on all National Forest System lands. (Code of Federal Regulations 231.1). These lands are made available for livestock use via a permit system, under which regional foresters specify, for each rancher using the range, the number of livestock, the grazing period, the grazing system, and the land improvements required. Pertinent sections of the Code of Federal Regulations dealing with grazing on Forest Service land are as follows:

> 231.3B A grazing permit or grazing agreement conveys no right, title, or interest of the United States in any lands . . . and is a privilege for the exclusive benefit of the person or organization to whom a permit is issued . . .
>
> 231.3d(1) Paid term permits may be issued for periods of ten years or less to persons who own livestock to be grazed and such base ranch property as the Chief, Forest Service, may require. . . . Term permits are renewable at the end of each term period provided the provisions and requirements under which they are issued continued to be met. . . . The term permit gives the holder first priority for its renewal at the expiration of the term permit period.

Although free permits may be granted to persons living within or contiguous to forest system lands for up to 10 head of livestock, all other permittees pay a fee based on the quality of the range. In addition, permittees are required to own sufficient land of their own, or have sufficient feed available, to accommodate their herds for approximately six months of the year.[7]

In 1973 alone, about 17,000 ranchers and farmers purchased permits to graze about 3.2 million cattle and sheep on 105 million acres of forest range land in the National Forests and National Grasslands in the 48 states of the continental U.S. An additional 3.0 million calves and lambs grazed free of charge. Altogether, the national forest thus accounted for 11 million animal unit months (AUM's) of forage consumption, about 5 percent of all livestock forage consumption in the nation.[8] Even this understates the importance of the grazing activity on national forest system land, however, for this activity is itself an integral, and frequently necessary, part of private grazing activity generally. As a recent U.S. Department of Agriculture publication observes:

> Grazing on National Forest System lands is mostly seasonal and provides the forage needed to make dependent livestock ranches and farms viable year-round operations, thus adding to the stability of the dependent rural communities. Without this complementary forage source, many operations would either have to buy or lease other range or reduce their operations, often ceasing to be an economic unit.[9]

Despite a massive increase in cattle production in the Southern states over the past decade and a half, however, grazing on the southeastern national forests has historically been extremely limited. Until 1964, in fact, no permits were issued for grazing on Forest Service lands in the southeast, and what grazing occurred was done in trespass. Permits have been available since 1964, but only on a temporary, one-year-at-a-time basis that gives ranchers little security over the long term. Although these permits have been relatively inexpensive—$.10 to $.25 per animal unit month compared to $.60 to $.70 on National Forest lands elsewhere in the country—they have also been quite limited. As of 1972, for example, fewer than 30,000 livestock, accounting for less than 168,000 animal unit months of forage, were permitted to graze on the forests in the eight states under consideration here. According to one estimate, only about 1,500 grazing permits are outstanding in these states, and no more than 50 of these have been granted to blacks.[10]

The southeastern national forests have far greater grazing potential than these figures might suggest, however, Of the 4,611,855 acres in the National Forest System in the entire South, for example, only 349,695 have been declared off-limits for grazing.[11] More directly, the Forest Service's own *Grazing Statistical Report* estimates conservatively that the National Forests in the eight states under consideration here could easily provide more than three times as many animal unit months of forage as are now allowed each year without impairing the land or interfering with other range uses, such as watershed pro-

62 tection and recreation. As Table 8 indicates, most of this excess capacity is concentrated in the states of Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. (See Table 8)

Table 8

Excess Grazing Capacity on National Forest System Lands in Eight Southern States

	Animal Unit Months (AUM's)		
	Estimated Capacity	Actually Grazed	Unused Capacity
Alabama	27,996	3,292	24,704
Arkansas	218,379	60,530	157,849
Georgia	8,056	5,053	3,003
Louisiana	123,315	55,384	67,931
Mississippi	135,528	38,637	96,891
North Carolina	528	836	308
South Carolina	37,260	2,575	34,685
Virginia	8,278	1,497	6,781
Total	559,340	167,804	391,536

Source: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Annual Grazing Statistical Report, 1972.

From all indications, moreover, the Department of Agriculture is eager to put this excess capacity to use. In December 1973, the Department established a special Inter-Agency Work Group on Range Production to explore ways to increase meat production from the nation's ranges, including those under public control. The impetus for this study was the conviction that expected increases in the demand for meat products cannot be met at prevailing prices without a substantial expansion of the nation's active range resources, especially given the expected increase in the cost of nonrange livestock food supplies—such as grain and vegetable proteins—as a result of increased exports, balance of payments problems, and fossil fuel shortages.[13] In its first report, issued June 1974, this inter-agency group called on USDA to "move fully to exercise its responsibilities in range." In addition to suggestions for USDA assistance in private range management, this report laid particular stress on the potentials for range improvement on public land in the National Forest System, pointing out that:

> A real opportunity exists for USDA to make a substantive contribution to the rural economy and environmental values through intensification of range programs on the National Forests and National Grasslands. . . .
>
> Development of the ranges of the National Forest System to their economic potential for contributing to livestock production should be a USDA goal. . . . Through the direct effects upon the operations of grazing permittees and by demonstration of sound management, a USDA accelerated range program directed at more meat from ranges can affect a large segment of the rural, livestock economy throughout many areas of the United States.[14]

Out of this high-level USDA concern about improving national range resources has come a major USDA proposal calling for a broad-gauged program of education, technical assistance, demonstrations, better financing, and changes in public land management to help promote better range utilization. Although this proposal is still before Congress, the ripple effects of the new-found concern about the range resources in the National Forest System have already penetrated into the Forest Service apparatus. And this is especially so in the southeastern region where, as we have seen, the utilization of range resources in the national forests has long lagged behind its potentials.

Perhaps the most visible evidence of these ripple effects is the massive grazing study that the Forest Service's southeastern regional office commissioned in 1972. Utilizing interviews administered to a sample of grazing permittees, farm operators, and business and community officials in areas adjacent to a number of southeastern national forests, this study undertook to determine what steps the Forest Service could take to "expand the utilization and productivity of National Forest grazing lands" in the Southeast. Completed in February 1975, the resulting report contains a wealth of data about actual and potential Forest Service grazing permittees, and demonstrates clearly both the potential for expanded grazing on the southeastern forest lands and the nature of needed Forest Service information and range improvement efforts.[15] Should Congress fund the overall range improvement program, therefore, the southeastern regional office of the Forest Service is geared up to proceed into an active grazing expansion program.[16]

What makes all of this of immense significance to minority enterprise development is the fact that much of the National Forest land most suited to expanded grazing is located in the vicinity of substantial black land holdings. The Forest Service has identified six forests in particular as candidates for expanded grazing activity: the Conecuh in Alabama, the Kisatchie in Louisiana, the Bienville and DeSoto in Mississippi, and the Ozark and Oachita in Arkansas. As Map 3 reveals, all but two of these are located in counties that contain sizeable black populations and numerous acres of black-owned land. Altogether, more than 100,000 acres of black-owned land are situated in the counties that define the perimeters of these forests. (See Table 9). Under the proper circumstances, access to National Forest grazing land could permit a substantial number of these farmers to develop profitable beef cattle enterprises.

Some support for this idea can be found, moreover, in the Forest Service Grazing Study mentioned above. In the Alabama-Florida-Mississippi study area, almost 10 percent of the permittees who turned up in the random sample drawn for this study were black. In the larger,

Map 3
U.S. Forest Service Land in the Southeast
Scheduled for Expanded Grazing

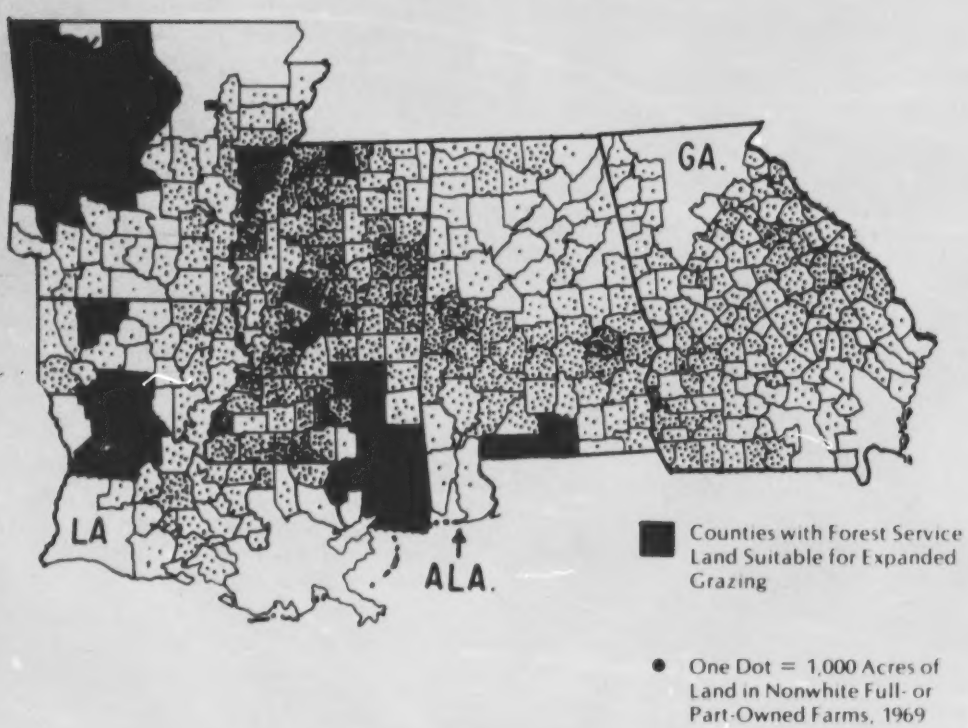

GA.
LA
ALA.
Counties with Forest Service Land Suitable for Expanded Grazing
One Dot = 1,000 Acres of Land in Nonwhite Full- or Part-Owned Farms, 1969

Table 9

Black Landownership and Population in the Vicinity of National Forest Lands Scheduled for Increased Grazing

State	National Forest	Unused Grazing Capacity[a] (AUM's)	Acres in NW[b] Full Owner Farms	NW Population
Alabama	Conecuh	24,704	2,328	15,595
Louisiana	Kisatchie	67,931	23,106	80,617
Mississippi	Bienville DeSoto	96,891	79,631	105,642
Arkansas	Ozark Oachita St. Francis	157,849	31,249	60,578
Total		347,375	136,314	262,432

[a]These are conservative estimates based on the Forest Service's 1972 Grazing Statistical Report.

[b]NW — Non-white

Southwide study area, this figure was close to 4 percent. Of these black permittees, 39 percent carned in excess of $3,000 from farm sales, compared to only 26 percent of black farmers generally who, according to the 1969 Census of Agriculture, earned in excess of $2,500 from their farms. In other words, access to the National Forest grazing lands seems to have enabled a far larger proportion of black landowners to operate as commercial farmers and yielded noticeable income increments.[38]

Corps of Engineers

The second largest federal landowner in the southeast is the Army Corps of Engineers, which is involved in extensive navigation and flood control projects in the area. As of 1972, the Corps controlled over 1.5 million acres of land in the southeast, of which over 1.1 million is located in the states of Arkansas, Georgia, and Mississippi. As Map 4 shows, this Corps land is located in 121 counties, of which 83 have more than 500 acres of black-owned land. (For a listing of major Corps Projects and their locations, see Appendix 3.) Taken together, these 83 counties contain more than 1 million acres of black-owned land, as indicated in Table 10.

Map 4
Location of U.S. Corps of Engineers Land in Relation to Minority—Owned Land in the Southeast

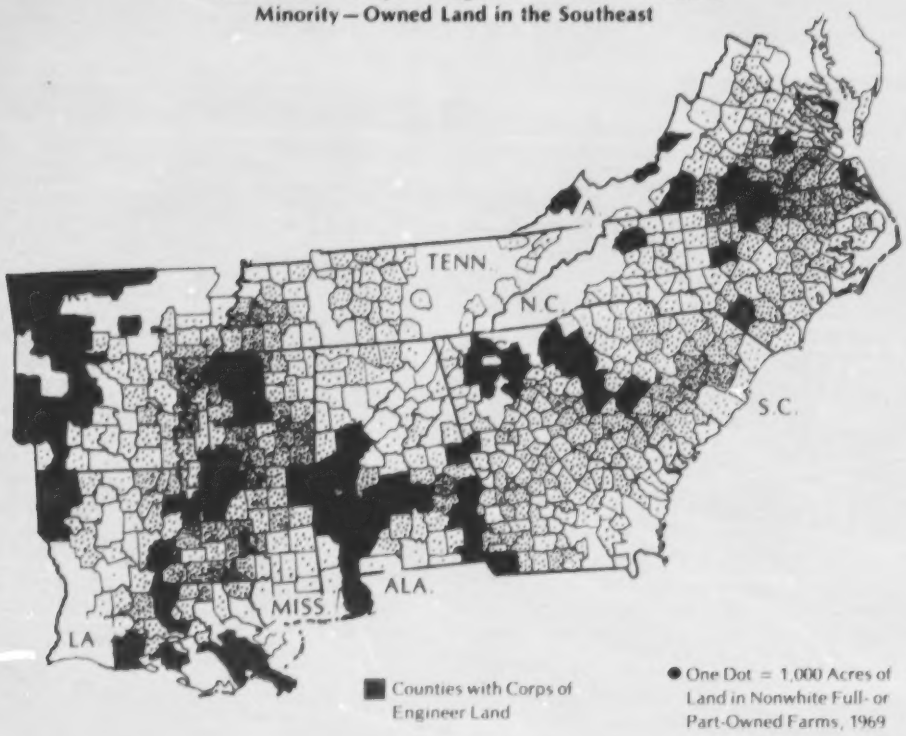


Table 10

Extent of Black-Owned Land in Vicinity of Corps of Engineers Land in Eight Southern States

State	No. of Counties with Corps Lands	No. of Corps Land Counties with 500+ NW* Acres	Acres of NW* Land in Corps Counties	No. of NW* Landowners in Corps Counties
Alabama	20	19	360,792	4,145
Arkansas	26	6	23,745	243
Georgia	21	13	43,176	364
Louisiana	14	10	61,328	669
Mississippi	16	16	381,782	4,202
North Carolina	6	6	65,310	1,060
South Carolina	5	5	41,417	454
Virginia	13	8	94,703	1,143
Total	121	83	1,072,253	12,098

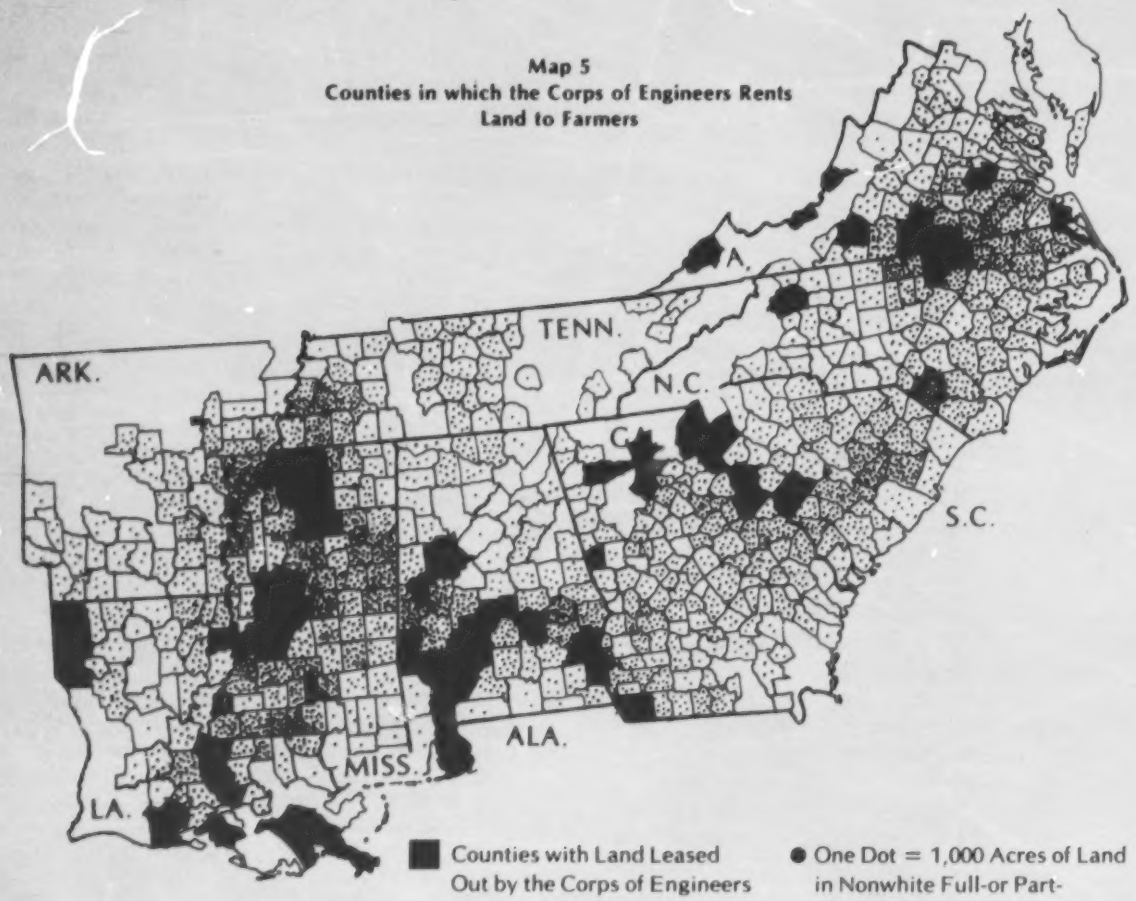
*NW = Non-white

It should be noted that the Corps acreage includes land impounded for use in flood control dams and that the acreage figure represents the land acquired before the development of these projects. Ordinarily, however, the Corps acquires a margin of land above the flood control level of the lake—five vertical feet or 300 horizontal feet above normal lake level, whichever is greater. This excess land, plus any land that is purchased but not required immediately for project purposes, is leased out to private farmers, if it has been in agricultural use previously and can be productive. Frequently, these plots are small and irregularly shaped due to the jagged shorelines of the lakes they abut. Leasing policy requires the Corps to advertise these plots every five years and to award the lease to the highest bidder. The lessee is required to follow land use regulations set forth by the Corps.

Present Corps policy holds that agriculture is an interim use for Corps lands until they can be devoted to a higher or better use such as wildlife management or public recreation. Although the trend is toward public use of such lands, however, in some cases, such as Kerr Lake in North Carolina and Virginia, the Corps agrees to allow local farmers to use project lands for agriculture. This is especially true where Corps lands are in a flood plain and therefore suitable only for agricultural use, primarily grazing. Corps lands in the Lower Mississippi Valley fall into this category, and these are the Corps lands located in closest proximity to black landowners.

Getting an accurate count of these lands proved difficult, however. The Real Estate Directorate in the Wash-

Map 5
Counties in which the Corps of Engineers Rents Land to Farmers



ington Office of the Corps of Engineers provided one list of active leases showing slightly more than 60,000 acres of land leased out in the six states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. As recorded in Table 11 below, the reported earnings from these leases amounted to $305,347, or approximately $5.05 per acre.

Table 11

Partial List of Corps of Engineers Land Leased for Agricultural Uses in Six Southern States, 1974

State	Number of Leases	Acres Leased	Rental Fee	
			Total	Dollars per acre
Alabama	3	474.9	$ 623	$1.31
Arkansas	150	10,318.1	28,423	2.75
Georgia	16	1,744.0	1,244	0.71
Mississippi	404	45,824.0	267,052	5.83
North Carolina	37	463.0	2,000	4.32
Virginia	67	1,653.0	6,005	3.63
Total	677	60,477.0	$305,347	$5.05

Somewhat different data were reported by the Corps' regional office, which provided breakdowns of the payments the Corps is required to make to counties in which Corps-leased land is located." These figures indicate that the Corps collected approximately half a million dollars from land leased in the seven states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia. (Data were not available for Arkansas). Applying the average per acre rental fee computed from the partial lists of leasing agreements provided by the Washington Corps office, this gives a total of about 100,000 acres under lease, even without including Arkansas. Table 12 below summarizes these data, and Map 5 portrays the location of counties showing receipts from Corps-leased lands. (For a complete list of these counties and the leasing fees each received in FY 1973, see Appendix Table 4).

What emerges from these data is the conclusion that numerous Southern farmers are gaining access to valuable agricultural land at relatively low cost through the Corps' leasing program, particularly in Mississippi, Arkansas and Georgia. From Map 5 it is apparent, moreover, that a substantial proportion of the counties in which the Corps leases land contain numerous black landowners and extensive black-owned acreage. Yet, there is little

Table 12

Receipts from Corps Leasing of Land in Seven Southern States

State	Rental Fees Collected	Estimated Acres Leased*
Alabama	$ 13,254.75	2,625
Georgia	132,533.08	26,244
Louisiana	30,183.07	5,977
Mississippi	311,683.56	61,720
North Carolina	2,274.43	450
South Carolina	11,203.52	2,219
Virginia	20,685.31	4,096
Total	$521,817.72	103,331

*Acreage estimates based on an average rental figure of $5.05 per acre.

evidence to suggest that black landowners are even aware of such leasing arrangements with the Corps, let alone involved in them. Although it will require further detailed research to determine how many minority landowners could feasibly utilize this Corps land in their own agricultural enterprises, the possibility certainly seems present. What is more, it is worth emphasizing that the figures reported here do *not* include Corps lands scheduled for purchase in connection with the ambitious Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project, which will cut a broad swatch through some counties in the Mississippi and Alabama black belts. (See Map 6)

Even without disturbing existing lease arrangements on already rented Corps lands, considerable assistance could probably be provided to minority landowners by making special efforts to provide them access to the lands the Corps will soon have available for lease in the Tennessee-Tombigbee Project area.

Fish and Wildlife Service

The third major federal landowner in the South, the Fish and Wildlife Service, controls approximately 1.1 million acres of land in 35 wildlife refuges in the eight states with which we are concerned. As Map 7 shows, 42 counties in these states contain Fish and Wildlife Service land, and 29 of these have at least 500 acres of black-controlled land. Taken together, these 29 counties account for approximately 275,000 acres of black-owned land and 3,700 black landowners, with the heaviest concentrations in Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina. (See Table 13).

Like the other public lands examined in this report, Fish and Wildlife Service land is not used primarily for commercial purposes. The refuges maintained by the Service are designed to provide protected habitats for fish and wildlife, and economic activities or public uses like recreation are considered secondary. As one recent Fish and Wildlife Service internal memorandum notes: "Production of revenue is not an adequate justification to implement or continue economic uses on refuges." [18]

Map 6
Black Land Ownership in Counties Involved in Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project

Counties in which Corps of Engineer Plans Land Purchases in Connection with Tennessee-Tombigbee Project

One Dot = 1,000 Acres of Land in Nonwhite Full—or Part—Owned Farms, 1969

Table 13

Extent of Black-Owned Land in Vicinity of U.S. Fish and Wildlife Land in Eight Southern States

State	No. of Counties with F&W Land	No. of Counties with 500+ NW Acres	No. of NW Acres in F&W Counties	No. of NW Owners in F&W Counties
Alabama	3	3	24,607	316
Arkansas	8	6	87,058	889
Georgia	7	4	7,405	44
Louisiana	3	–	–	–
Mississippi	4	4	79,026	1,089
North Carolina	7	5	17,050	232
South Carolina	5	5	56,267	1,135
Virginia	5	2	4,159	46
Total	42	29	275,572	3,751

Like the other public lands also, however, the Wildlife Service lands are available for commercial use when this use can contribute to, or at least not conflict with, the agency's primary mission. Thus grazing and haying are permitted "when they support a significant wildlife objective of the refuge," such as "maintaining them in a desirable condition." [39] By the same token, the sale of forest products is permitted where there is a "demonstrated potential for restoration, maintenance or improvement in production of wildlife-related outputs." [39] Other common uses include leases for mineral extraction, beekeeping, and co-operative farming. The latter involves an arrangement under which farmers grow crops on Wildlife Service lands but leave 25 percent of the crop in the field for wildlife feeding.

Of the 32 wildlife refuges in our eight southeastern states for which information could be secured, 12 typically provide opportunities for co-operative farming, 10 for grazing, 6 for mineral extraction, 6 for forest harvesting, and 4 each for haying and beekeeping. Table 14 summarizes these data, showing for each state the number of acres in the wildlife preserves in which these various activities are common.

Map 7

Location of Fish and Wildlife Service Land in Relation to Minority – Owned Land in the Southeast

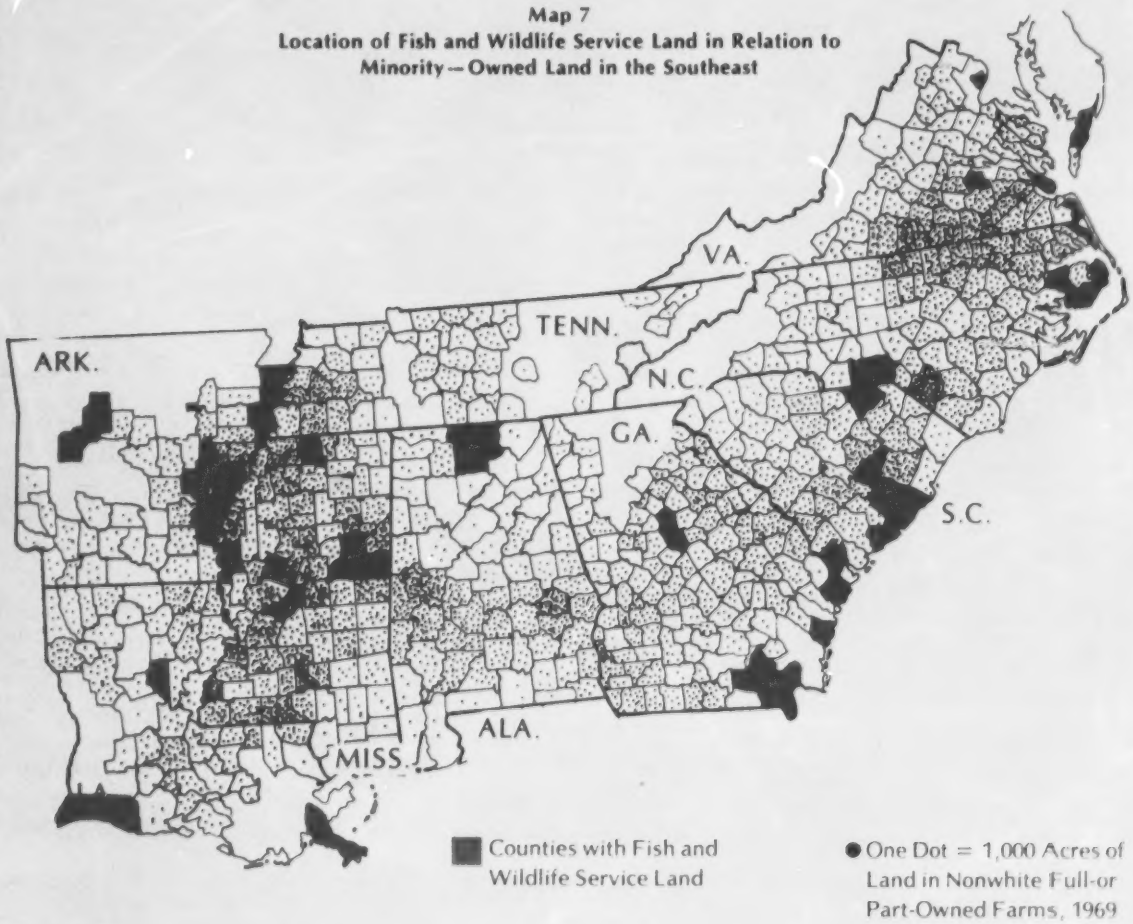


Table 14

Commercial Activity on Fish and Wildlife Service Land in Seven Southern States

State	All Acres in Refuges (thousands)	Acres in F&W Refuges on Which Indicated Activity Regularly Occurs (in thousands of acres)					
		Mineral Extraction	Forest Harvesting	Haying	Grazing	Co-op Farming	Bee-Keeping
Alabama	49.6(3)	38.4(2)	45.3(2)	45.3(2)	45.3(2)	38.4(2)	34.2(1)
Arkansas	135.9(4)	—	113.0(1)	—	11.0(1)	135.9(4)	6.4(1)
Georgia	429.9(5)	—	411.5(2)	—	2.7(1)	—	—
Louisiana	233.4(4)	233.4(4)	—	5.3(1)	180.1(3)	37.1(2)	5.3(1)
North Carolina	100.9(6)	—	50.2(1)	6.0(1)	18.4(2)	68.5(3)	12.4(1)
Virginia	73.9(10)	—	—	—	9.0(1)	1.3(1)	—
Total	**1,023.5(32)**	**271.8(6)**	**620.1(6)**	**56.7(4)**	**266.6(10)**	**281.3(12)**	**58.2(4)**

Source: Materials provided by Regional Director, Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. Department of the Interior (February 5, 1974). Numbers in parentheses indicate the number of refuges.

Determining exactly how many acres in each of these refuges are actually used for the indicated commercial activity, however, is quite difficult. One clue is the revenue records of the Fish and Wildlife Service. By law (PL88–523, 16 U.S.C. 715S), the Service is required to pay to each county in which its land is located *either* 25 percent of the net receipts from all revenue-producing activities in the county or three-quarters of one percent of the adjusted cost of the Fish and Wildlife Service land in the county, whichever is greater. For fiscal year 1972, only five refuges (White River, Arkansas, Piedmont, Chincoteague, Virginia) generated more revenues through the 25 percent of net receipts formula than would have been available to the counties through the three-fourths of one percent of land cost formula. As Table 15 demonstrates, receipts from commercial utilization of Fish and Wildlife Service lands in the southeast were significant only in Louisiana, Arkansas, and, to a lesser degree, Georgia and Mississippi. (For a complete listing of receipts by refuge and county, see Appendix 5).

These figures reflect, in turn, the actual patterns of land utilization on the refuges. Except for the exploitation of the oil deposits on the Delta Wildlife Reserve in Louisiana, timber cutting is apparently the only usage that generates extensive revenues. In 1970, the White River (Arkansas) and Piedmont (Georgia) refuges produced almost 14 million board feet of timber each, worth about $950,000. Noxubee (Mississippi) National Wildlife Refuge generated almost $200,000 through the sale of timber products. By contrast, only 33 permittees were allowed to graze livestock on the refuges, and the grazing permits yielded only $2,200 in receipts. Haying, too, was an insignificant revenue generator, accounting for only $80.00 in receipts in 1970.[n]

Table 15

Receipts from Commercial Utilization of Fish and Wildlife Service Lands in the Southeast, FY 1972

State	Fish and Wildlife Service Receipts[a]
Alabama	$ 12,184
Arkansas	513,952
Georgia	224,060
Louisiana	2,079,416
Mississippi	231,648
North Carolina	3,644
South Carolina	12,488
Virginia	49,204
Total	**$3,126,596**

[a]Computed by multiplying reported county receipts under PL 88-523 by four. Data were provided by the Regional Office, Bureau of Wildlife and Sports Fisheries, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior.

The problem with these revenue figures, however, is that they are sensitive to the fee schedules charged by the Fish and Wildlife Services and take no account of untapped potentials. These limitations are particularly noticeable with regard to the sharecrop arrangements on wildlife refuges, since receipts here take the form of crops left in the field for wildlife consumption rather than cash income in the agency's revenue statements. Yet these farming activities are probably the most widespread of all commercial activities taking place on Fish and Wildlife Service lands. They offer farmers access to the agency's lands in return for a share of the crop. For

landowners making inefficient use of equipment because of the small size of their own holdings, this additional land could provide the crucial margin needed for survival as profitable operators. Yet, despite the location of a substantial portion of Fish and Wildlife Service land in the vicinity of minority-owned land, there is little evidence that minority farmowners have been able to utilize this resource.

National Park Service

The fourth largest concentration of federal, non-military land holdings in the Southeast falls under the jurisdiction of the National Park Service, which controls approximately 660,000 acres of land in our target states. However, almost all (91 percent) of this land lies in just two states—North Carolina and Virginia. What is more, within these states, Park Service land is located in the Appalachian regions, which are virtually devoid of black landowners. (See Appendix 6 for a list of National Park Service facilities in these eight states). Finally, the Park Service has permitted little commercial use of its lands in the southeast. Reflecting this, its revenue statement is dominated by campground entrance fees and park business concessions. Of all the categories of federal land examined in this report, therefore, the Park Service land thus seems to offer the least opportunity for minority enterprise.

III. Public Land and Minority Enterprise: The Potentials

Three basic facts emerge from the foregoing analysis of major, federal, non-military landholdings in the Southeast:

(1) Federal agency landholdings in the Southeast are quite substantial in every state, with the Forest Service heading the list by a substantial margin.

(2) Much of this federal acreage is located in close proximity to substantial nonwhite landholdings. As Table 16 shows, the counties in which major Forest Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, and Corps of Engineers landholdings are located contain 1,870,418 acres of nonwhite land, 768,384 acres of it in Class 1–5 commercial farms.[23] This amounts to one-third of all nonwhite land in the nation.

(3) Although the primary use of this federal land is non-commercial, considerable commercial activity does take place on it. Extensive opportunities exist for grazing, timber-cutting, and general farming on this land at relatively low cost. In the case of the Forest Service land, moreover, a large-scale expansion of commercial grazing activity is anticipated in the near future.

The question we must now address is what implications these facts have for minority landholders, and for minority enterprise development policy. To answer this question fully, of course, we must know far more than is now known about the exact locations of black land within the counties containing public land, and about the detailed characteristics of those nonwhite landowners living in closest proximity to particular concentrations of public land. What is more, we must investigate in detail the actual costs and returns of various uses of public land in minority-owned agricultural enterprises of various sizes to see what increments to income can actually be secured, and where.

Table 16

Nonwhite Land in Counties With Extensive Public Land,[a] Eight Southern States

State	Counties with Public Land and 500+ Acres of NW[b] Land			
	No.	Acres of NW Land	Number of NW Landowners	Acres of NW Land in Class 1–5 Farms
Alabama	31	438,796	5,161	163,376
Arkansas	14	150,428	1,545	103,008
Georgia	23	79,293	617	23,296
Louisiana	14	14,409	987	38,560
Mississippi	46	740,720	8,175	267,360
North Carolina	15	98,858	1,602	57,792
South Carolina	18	151,768	2,145	49,664
Virginia	16	116,146	1,313	65,328
Total	177	1,870,418	21,545	768,384

[a]Public lands referred to here are those held by the three agencies that own most of the non-military federal land in the South—the Forest Service, the Corps of Engineers, and the Fish and Wildlife Service.

[b]NW = Non-white

Even without this additional research, however, there is persuasive evidence suggesting real potentials for utilizing the public land resources in these counties in a land-based minority enterprise strategy. Perhaps the most promising of these potentials lies in the area of livestock grazing. According to a 1974 report prepared by USDA's Farmer Cooperative Service, the southeastern area is considered "the best region for beef cow herd expansion" in the United States.[24] Although the *rate* of expansion is expected to slow down somewhat during the 1974–1980 period in comparison to the previous years, a 30 percent increase in beef cow numbers in the southeast is considered quite likely by 1980.

One major reason for this beef cattle boom in the South is the relative increase in reliance on grass and other forage in livestock production in recent years. This increase is a reversal of earlier trends toward expanded reliance on grain feeding and large-scale feedlot production, and reflects a host of factors: (1) the devaluation of the dollar, which has increased the effective world demand for U.S. grains and consequently bid up domestic

grain prices; (2) the energy shortage, which has placed a premium on the grain-based meat production system since feed grains require high inputs of fossil fuel energy; (3) changes in consumer tastes, which are shifting away from the higher fat-content grades of beef common from grain-fed herds toward the leaner grades produced by grass feeding; and (4) research demonstrating that optimal weights can be achieved by combining grain feeding with grazing rather than utilizing either one alone.[36] Taken together, these developments suggest a reversal of the displacement of cattle ranches with feedlot operations and an enlarged role for farmers managing grass feeding operations. Thanks to the undeveloped potential pasture land, mild winters, and favorable rainfall in their region, Southern farmers are in an exceptionally good position to benefit disproportionately from these trends.

To reap some of these benefits, however, black landowners must secure access to additional land. Unlike some products, livestock production is more land- than labor-intensive. A single farmer can care for 20 as well as 5 head of cattle—so long as he had 30 additional acres of pasture land. The increased availability of public land for grazing could thus provide a crucial increment to the incomes of black landowners. Not only would this provide a source of forage for livestock and thus allow black farmers to accommodate larger herds, but also it would allow them to devote a larger share of their own lands to grain production and thus cut down on their need for costly grain purchases in the market. These benefits could be augmented, moreover, by the formation of grazing associations through which small farmers could cooperate to care for each other's livestock and make improvements in the public range resources.

Determining the real feasibility of this strategy must, of course, await further inquiry into the possible mechanics of the relationship between the public agencies and black landowners, and into the characteristics of the farm operations of black landowners in the vicinity of suitable public lands. The fact that in 121 of the 177 counties containing both substantial federal land and substantial black land at least a quarter of all farms are "livestock farms,"[37] however, lends credence to the idea, for it makes it clear that these counties are indeed in the South's livestock belt. By the same token, there is ample evidence that black landowners have long been accustomed to farming arrangements involving joint operations of two or more farms, one owned and the others rented. In fact, black part owners—those owning a portion of the land they farm and renting the rest—have historically been the most prosperous of all black farmowners, operating larger farms and earning higher incomes. Reflecting this fact until very recently the decline in the numbers of black part owners has been significantly less severe than the decline in the numbers of black full owners.[38] With the tremendous rise in land values in the 1960s, however, this trend was reversed, as black part owners lost access to their rental lands in large numbers.[39] In a sense, access to public lands could restore some of this lost land to black part owners and thus provide important help to the traditionally strongest group of black farm enterprises.

In addition to the grazing option, such access could provide other avenues of income supplementation as well. For example, the following activities could each yield an additional $1,000 in annual income for a farm family:

(1) Three acres of land planted in cucumbers (requires 90 hours per week of harvest labor from June 1–July 20).

(2) Three acres of land planted in okra (requires 45 hours per week from June 20–October 13).

(3) Thirteen acres of good cropland in watermelon (requires 15 hours per week of harvest labor from July 4–August 15).

(4) Four acres of good pasture land for nine feeder pigs.

(5) Forty-six acres of good pasture land for 23 beef cattle.

Small plots of land made available through the Corps of Engineers or the Fish and Wildlife Service could thus be put to quite profitable use. Since most black farmowners earn less than $3,000 from their farms, the result could be a one-third increase in farm income as well as a more efficient use of the existing stock of machinery.

A third way in which access to public lands could aid minority enterprise is in the area of timber operations. As we have seen, both the National Forest Service and the Fish and Wildlife Service maintain active forest management programs on their land holdings in the South, utilizing private contractors who bid for the right to cut timber on these federal lands. Though few—if any—minority businessmen take part in these programs, there is precedent for special arrangements to aid them in the form of the set-aside program under which a portion of all timber cutting contracts are reserved for small businessmen. By allowing minority logging firms to bid on these contracts at reduced rates, the federal government could provide an important boost to a new form of minority enterprise at virtually no cost to the government. Not only could such firms do business with the federal agencies involved in timber operations, but they could also provide an important service to black landowners generally by transforming currently unproductive timber on black-owned land into an income-producing resource. One recent study of timber management practices of black landowners showed, for example, that two-thirds of the landowners interviewed had sold trees in the previous decade, yet almost none had engaged in even minimal forest management activities and most had sold their trees as standing timber, before the trees had matured and without competitive bids, to loggers who contacted them.[40] A minority-owned logging firm given special advantages on the public lands would thus have

a natural source of supply outside of the public lands as well, and could work with associations of black landowners to develop forest management programs that could benefit the logging firm and the landowners alike.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The suggestions outlined here just begin to scratch the surface of the ways in which public land could be utilized to promote minority enterprise development, and to promote it without permanently impairing the public land or diverting it seriously from its primary public use. The federal land-holdings in the South represent an enormous national resource that could yield far greater social pay-offs if they were managed with greater imagination and sensitivity. As we have seen, in fact, the notion that federal lands should be utilized to promote national priorities is firmly rooted in public land law tradition. And the encouragement of minority business development and the protection and expansion of minority equity ownership certainly qualify as national priorities.

To translate this potential into reality, however, several critical steps are needed. In the first place, there is a need for further detailed research at the individual enterprise level to determine how particular groups of minority farmers could take advantage of the opportunities offered by the public lands in their vicinity. Among other things, we need to know how many minority landowners live close enough to public grazing land to make use of it, what experience these landowners have with beef cattle operations, what grazing fees and other benefits would make the use of public land economically profitable for them, what financial and technical assistance they might need, what size herds are suitable and necessary, and what types of organizational arrangements like grazing associations might be helpful. Similar research is needed with regard to timber operations as well as numerous specialty activities like beekeeping and various labor-intensive vegetable crops that could be grown on public lands.

Closely related to this research need is the need for an educational program to acquaint relevant policy-makers with the conclusions of the existing research on the economics of scale in agriculture. To date, this research has demonstrated rather convincingly that whatever advantages accrue to large-scale farm operations are not the result of technical efficiencies arising from internal economies of scale in agricultural production. In his pioneering study for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in fact, Patrick Madden demonstrated that most economies of size are captured by the modern, fully-mechanized one or two-man farm.[8] The real economies of scale are not technical but artificial, produced by the actions of suppliers, purchasers, and government tax and subsidy policies.[9]

For minority landowners, and small farmers generally, these findings have important implications. Although the fully-mechanized one or two man farm found to capture most of the technical economies of size is still substantially larger than all but a few of the minority-owned farms in the region, the disparity is not so great as much of the popular wisdom suggests. Access to public lands could thus substantially narrow this gap and help transform numerous marginal farms into technically efficient operations, especially if the proper crops are chosen for the available mix of land, labor, and equipment. At the same time, the importance of artificial economies of scale underlines the role that marketing and supply cooperatives could perform in making available to smaller farmers the purchasing discounts and marketing premiums that have given larger producers their most important edge. In short, there is substantial evidence indicating that the disappearance of the small farmer, and especially the minority farmer, is not an inevitable trend dictated by impersonal technical forces. To the contrary, the evidence suggests that a two-pronged strategy making public lands available more readily to minority landowners and encouraging the development of marketing and supply cooperatives to serve these landowners could go a substantial distance toward reversing this trend without any sacrifice in efficiency.

For this strategy to have any chance, however, there is a need to alter the attitudes and procedures of public land managers. At present, public land policy in the South oscillates exclusively between the two poles of conservation and development. The social welfare dimension of public land policy that has historically provided a third pole in this debate has been all but forgotten. The thrust of the discussion here, however, has been to suggest that it should now be restored, that attention should be directed to the issue of *who benefits* from various types of commercial activity on public lands in addition to the issue of *how much* of such activity should occur. In particular, we are convinced that the public lands could provide an immensely cost-effective way to promote the important national goal of expanded minority equity ownership and business development, but that this will not occur without various types of special arrangements. Devising these arrangements—whether they be mandatory contract set-asides, lower permit fees, or special training programs—should therefore become a high priority matter for public land managers and others interested in promoting minority enterprise.

If the federal agencies involved in land management must be educated to the potentials available in this area, however, so must the minority landowners themselves. At present, we have only the most fragmentary evidence about how much minority landowners know about the commercial opportunities available on public lands in their vicinity. From all indications, however, minority landowners rarely know of the existence of federal land resources, let alone the commercial uses that can be made of them. As a consequence, minority participation in these uses is virtually non-existent. What is needed,

therefore, is an intensive educational effort to inform minority businessmen of the opportunities that public lands can provide, whether in agriculture or otherwise. As background to this effort, it would be helpful to interview a cross-section of black landowners in the vicinity of federal lands to learn how much they know about these lands and what special arrangements might be necessary to make the use of these lands most profitable to them.

Even if implemented *in toto*, the recommendations offered here will not produce a revolutionary transformation of minority landowners into agribusiness tycoons. What is claimed for them, rather, is the more modest objective of stabilizing a seriously endangered minority business community in possession of a unique minority equity resources, and doing so at exceedingly small cost. Considering the likely ratio of benefits to costs, however, the experiment seems well worth pursuing. By combining two, large, untapped resources—black land and public land—the Nation could make a significant contribution to minority business development at minimal public cost.

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Footnotes

PART 3

[1] Lester M. Salamon, *Black-Owned Land: Profile of Disappearing Equity Base,* Report to the Office of Minority Business Enterprise, U.S. Department of Commerce (Durham: Duke University Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, 1974).

[2] To be sure, the homestead program was flawed in the West as well, thanks to the mammoth grants to railroads and state governments, and the operations of land speculators. See Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development,* Prepared for the Public Land Law Review Commission (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968), pp. 402–415.

[3] For an analysis of the Depression era's resettlement program which sold land on liberal terms to Southern blacks and thus fulfilled a portion of this homestead promise, see Part Two of this report.

[4] Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development,* pp. ii, 18; Morton Grodzins, *The American System: A New View of Government in the United States,* edited by Daniel Elazar (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1966), pp. 32–37.

[5] For a breakdown by individual forest, see Appendix 2.

[6] On this point, see Glen Howze, "Forestry and the Black Landowner," Paper Prepared for the Workshop on the Development Potential of Black-Owned Land, Duke University, December 6, 1974.

[7] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, *Regulations Governing Livestock Grazing on National Forest System Lands and Other Lands Under Forest Service Control* (July 1970), p. 3.

[8] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Opportunities to Increase Red Meat Production from Ranges of the USA,* Phase I of a report of the USDA Inter-Agency Work Group on Range Production (June 1974), p. 94.

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 94.

[10] Personal Interview, Jimmy Wilkens, Range Management Specialist, U.S. Forest Service, Region 8, Atlanta, Georgia, August 12, 1974.

[11] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, *Analysis of Grazing Programs on National Forests in the Southern Region.* Report prepared by James E. Morrow, Robert Chaffin, and Joseph Horvath, February 1975, p. 27.

[12] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Opportunities to Increase Red Meat Production from Ranges of the United States,* Report of the USDA Inter-Agency Work Group on Range Production, Phase I, June 1974, pp. 10–11.

[13] Report of the USDA Inter-Agency Work Group on Range Production (1974), pp. 51–2.

[14] *Analysis of Grazing Programs on National Forests in the Southern Region*, Prepared for the U.S. Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture by James E. Morrow, Robert L. Chaffin, and Joseph C. Horvath (February 1975). I am grateful to Mr. Carl Holt, Range Management Specialist, U.S. Forest Service, Region 8, for permission to see a pre-publication copy of this report.

[15] Personal Interview, Carl Holt, March 12, 1975.

[16] The permittee data are from *Analysis of Grazing Programs on National Forests in the Southern Region*, pp. 176, 231. Since the data base for these comparisons was extremely small, however, we must be cautious about reading firm conclusions into them. Only 18 black permittees were included in the sample, about 3.8 percent of the 468 permittees for whom race was noted. What is now needed is a more thorough inquiry into the beef cattle operations of black landowners specifically. This point is addressed more fully below.

[17] The 1941 law requiring Corps payments to counties specifies that 75 percent of all lease income should go to the county in which the land is located. (33 USC 701C–3). The figures noted here are thus 1⅓ times the amounts recorded as payments to the counties. We are grateful to Mr. Vaughn Speakman, Chief of the Management and Disposal Branch, Real Estate Division, South Atlantic Division, Corps of Engineers, for these data.

[18] Memorandum from Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to all Regional Directors, May 29, 1973. Cited hereafter as Wildlife Bureau Director's Memo, May 29, 1973.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, *Policy on Management of Forest Lands of the National Wildlife Refuge System*, January 1, 1974.

[21] U.S. Department of the Interior, Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Division of Wildlife Refuges, *National Wildlife Refuges Grazing, Haying, and Timber Summaries*, 1970.

[22] Class 1–5 farms are those generating at least $2,500 of income from sale of farm products.

[23] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farmer Cooperative Service, *Survey of Credit Needs of Southeastern Livestock Producers* by R. L. Fox and L. L. Monroe (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1974), p. 2.

[24] USDA, *Opportunities to Increase Red Meat Production from Ranges of the United States* (1974), pp. 10–20; "Big Trends in Beef Feeding," *Agri-Finance* (September/October 1970).

[25] A "livestock farm" is one that receives more than 50 percent of its income from sale of livestock products.

[26] Between 1950 and 1964, the decline in the number of part owners was 39 percent, compared to a 50 percent drop in the number of full owners. Salamon, *Black-Owned Land*, p. 28.

[27] Between 1964 and 1969, the number of black *part* owners declined 48 percent, while the number of black *full* owners dropped a more limited 22 percent. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

[28] Glen Howze, "Forestry and the Black Landowner," Paper prepared for Delivery at the Workshop on the Development Potential of Black-Owned Land, Duke University, December 6, 1974, pp. 10–12.

[29] J. Patrick Madden, *Economies of Size in Farming*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Agricultural Economic Report No. 107 (Washington, D.C., 1967).

[30] For a discussion of these "artificial" economies, see Ray Marshall and Allen Thompson, "Economies of Size and the Future of Black Farmers," Paper Prepared for the Workshop on the Development Potential of Black Land, Duke University, December 6, 1974.

Appendix Map
Counties of the Southeastern United States

Appendix 1

Location of National Forest Units, by County, in Eight Southern States

NATIONAL FOREST UNIT	COUNTY	NET NATIONAL FOREST ACREAGE	
ALABAMA			
Bankhead	Franklin	1,584	
	Lawrence	89,299	
	Winston	88,341	
	Unit Total		179,224
Conecuh	Covington	54,724	
	Escambia	29,231	
	Unit Total		83,955
Talladega	Bibb	60,286	
	Calhoun	15,234	
	Chilton	21,425	
	Clay	66,272	
	Cleburne	80,581	
	Dallas	4,984	
	Hale	28,375	
	Perry	32,228	
	Talladega	44,518	
	Tuscaloosa	8,555	
	Unit Total		362,458
Tuskegee	Macon	10,778	
	Unit Total		10,778
STATE TOTAL			**636,415**
ARKANSAS			
Ouachita	Garland	105,877	
	Hot Springs	360	
	Howard	1,246	
	Logan	18,770	
	Montgomery	301,360	
	Perry	96,163	
	Pike	2,335	
	Saline	52,307	
	Scott	356,800	
	Sebastian	11,498	
	Yell	188,662	
	Unit Total		1,329,739
Ozark	Polk	194,361	
	Baxter	61,147	
	Benton	7,639	
	Conway	6,970	
	Crawford	83,125	
	Franklin	101,167	
	Johnson	174,503	
	Logan	74,260	

	Madison	47,282	
	Marion	4,778	
	Newton	194,164	
	Pope	182,948	
	Searcy	30,238	
	Stone	60,370	
	Van Buren	31,419	
	Washington	22,990	
	Yell	24,725	
	Unit Total		1,107,725
St. Francis	Lee	11,354	
	Phillips	9,489	
	Unit Total		20,843
STATE TOTAL			**2,458,307**
GEORGIA			
Chatta-hoochee	Banks	656	
	Catoosa	6	
	Chattooga	16,518	
	Dawson	6,647	
	Fannin	106,888	
	Floyd	6,491	
	Gilmer	53,336	
	Gordon	8,071	
	Habersham	40,694	
	Lumpkin	57,642	
	Murray	49,908	
	Rabun	143,530	
	Stephens	22,287	
	Towns	56,559	
	Union	95,593	
	Walker	19,116	
	White	42,586	
	Whitfield	12,730	
	Unit Total		739,308
Oconee	Greene	23,643	
	Jasper	26,057	
	Jones	16,500	
	Morgan	436	
	Oconee	254	
	Oglethorpe	3,768	
	Putnam	33,616	
	Unit Total		104,274
STATE TOTAL			**843,582**
LOUISIANA			
Kisatchie	Claiborne	19,514	
	Grant	139,191	
	Natchitoches	127,701	
	Rapides	102,090	
	Vernon	84,063	
	Webster	12,071	
	Winn	110,585	
	Unit Total		595,215
STATE TOTAL			**595,215**

MISSISSIPPI			
Bienville	Jasper	17,145	
	Newton	3,128	
	Scott	86,593	
	Smith	70,112	
	Unit Total		176,978
Desoto	Forrest	50,362	
	George	8,781	
	Greene	32,910	
	Harrison	61,585	
	Jackson	18,535	
	Jones	33,128	
	Pearl River	5,256	
	Perry	160,699	
	Stone	39,787	
	Wayne	90,111	
	Unit Total		501,154
Holly Springs	Benton	51,488	
	Lafayette	37,277	
	Marshall	20,384	
	Tippah	7,762	
	Union	7,931	
	Yalobusha	20,183	
	Unit Total		145,025
Himochitto	Adams	14,203	
	Amite	35,354	
	Copiah	7,265	
	Franklin	95,135	
	Jefferson	7,742	
	Lincoln	7,835	
	Wilkinson	21,545	
	Unit Total		189,079
Delta	Sharkey	59,174	
	Unit Total		59,174
Tombigbee	Chickasaw	25,432	
	Choctaw	11,215	
	Oktibbeha	117	
	Pontotoc	461	
	Winston	28,059	
	Unit Total		65,284
STATE TOTAL			**1,136,694**
NORTH CAROLINA			
Nantahala	Cherokee	82,079	
	Clay	59,975	
	Graham	111,065	
	Jackson	28,373	
	Macon	149,448	
	Swain	15,948	
	Transylvania	5,226	
	Unit Total		452,114

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Pisgah	Avery	22,691		
	Buncombe	31,391		
	Burke	47,561		
	Caldwell	49,323		
	Haywood	68,175		
	Henderson	17,296		
	McDowell	67,058		
	Madison	47,793		
	Mitchell	16,432		
	Transylvania	82,737		
	Watauga	393		
	Yancy	31,462		
	Unit Total		482,312	
Croatan	Carteret	56,591		
	Craven	60,932		
	Jones	39,074		
	Unit Totals		156,597	
Uwharrie	Davidson	959		
	Montgomery	36,424		
	Randolph	8,364		
	Unit Total		45,747	
Cherokee	Ashe	327		
	Unit Total		327	
STATE TOTAL			**1,137,097**	
SOUTH CAROLINA				
Francis Marion	Berkeley	189,714		
	Charleston	59,311		
	Unit Total		249,025	
Sumter	Abbeville	21,821		
	Chester	11,943		
	Edgefield	28,866		
	Fairfield	12,381		
	Greenwood	10,652		
	Laurens	20,676		
	McCormick	47,652		
	Newberry	55,001		
	Oconee	77,716		
	Saluda	4,229		
	Union	58,504		
	Unit Total		349,441	
STATE TOTAL			**598,466**	
TENNESSEE				
Cherokee	Carter	82,884		
	Cocke	44,044		
	Greene	36,091		
	Johnson	49,378		
	McMinn	2,192		
	Monroe	145,568		
	Polk	150,870		
	Sullivan	37,345		
	Unicoi	52,064		
	Washington	17,216		
	Unit Total			617,652
STATE TOTAL				**617,652**
VIRGINIA				
George Washington	Alleghany	139,704		
	Amherst	53,509		
	Augusta	192,342		
	Bath	171,996		
	Botetourt	13,094		
	Frederick	4,468		
	Highland	53,712		
	Nelson	14,059		
	Page	26,041		
	Rockbridge	45,355		
	Rockingham	138,169		
	Shenandoah	77,199		
	Warren	5,899		
	Unit Total			935,547
Jefferson	Bedford	18,074		
	Bland	68,695		
	Botetourt	64,266		
	Carroll	5,130		
	Craig	115,255		
	Dickenson	9,003		
	Giles	59,879		
	Grayson	25,013		
	Lee	11,873		
	Montgomery	19,211		
	Pulaski	19,258		
	Roanoke	2,559		
	Rockbridge	21,010		
	Scott	34,174		
	Smyth	69,257		
	Tazewell	5,945		
	Washington	20,394		
	Wise	29,600		
	Wythe	52,580		
	Unit Total			651,176
STATE TOTAL				**1,586,723**

Appendix 2

Annual Collection Statement, National Forest Fund, Fiscal Year 1973

Forest	Timber	Grazing	Land Use	Power	Minerals	Admission and User Fees	Total
ALABAMA	$ 1,053,087	$ 433	$ 1,883	$ 2,739	$ 98,543	$ 32,683	$ 1,189,454
Bankhead	297,374		510	234	61,802	11,753	371,709
Conecuh	287,272	433	303		36,641	5,895	330,546
Talladega	452,836		930	2,493	100	15,035	471,441
Tuskegee	15,605		140	12			15,758
ARKANSAS	$ 4,168,567	13,148	30,030	1,982	173,796	52,165	$ 4,446,062
Ouachita	3,568,313	8,040	14,594	1,372	68,432	30,233	3,691,357
Ozark	583,045	5,108	12,316	610	89,731	18,659	709,284
St. Francis	17,209		3,120		15,633	3,273	45,421
GEORGIA	$ 1,357,303	122	12,053	777	16,395	30,124	$ 1,422,506
Chattahoochee	772,477	28	7,097	741	11,135	30,124	826,984
Oconee	584,826	94	4,956	36	5,260		595,522
LOUISIANA							
Kisatchie	$ 5,527,473	5,177	6,577	7,373	166,017	23,508	$ 5,742,846
MISSISSIPPI	$ 5,315,602	3,086	16,059	3,236	1,283,468	28,356	$ 6,649,815
Bienville	315,844	94	1,043	94	96,782	2,711	416,570
Delta	80,590		613		46,362		127,565
DeSoto	2,824,020	2,992	4,866	2,254	389,657		3,223,790
Holly Springs	338,669		4,110	20	781	5,856	349,438
Homochitto	1,548,675		4,980	868	709,414	4,261	2,268,200
Tombigbee	207,804		447		40,472	15,528	264,252
NORTH CAROLINA	$ 942,065	–0–	11,863	5,291	1,656	45,409	$ 1,010,605
Croatan	94,824		2,541	2,475		1,962	102,273
Nantahalla	412,201		4,849	2,572	700	21,263	444,741
Pisgah	384,885		4,350	232	918	22,184	413,263
Uwharrie	50,155		123	12	38		50,328
SOUTH CAROLINA	$ 3,153,460	36	10,083	919	40	5,846	$ 3,170,446
Francis Marion	1,669,059	36	2,926	122	40		1,672,194
Sumter	1,484,401		7,157	797		5,846	1,498,252
VIRGINIA	$ 337,428	656	10,301	3,046	14,783	70,106	438,187
George Washington	203,586		3,651	1,701	12,414	44,970	268,140
Jefferson	133,842	656	6,650	1,345	2,369	25,136	170,047
TOTAL	**$21,854,985**	**$21,966**	**$98,849**	**$25,363**	**$1,754,698**	**$288,197**	**$24,069,921**

Source: U.S. Forest Service, Annual Collection Statement, FY1973.

Appendix 3

Major Corps of Engineers' Holdings in the Southeast

State	Installation and County (ies)	Acreage
ALABAMA	West Point Lake Project Chambers	6,896
	Demopolis Lock and Dam Greene, Hale, Marengo, Sumter	8,695
	Walter F. George Lock and Dam Barbour, Henry, Houston, Russell	24,244
	Coffeeville Lock and Dam	6,274
	Holt Lock and Dam Tuscaloosa	2,350
	Donnelly Reservoir Autauga, Dallas, Lowndes, Wilcox	4,030
	Claiborne Lock and Dam Clark, Monroe, Wilcox	3,011
	Jones Bluff Lock and Dam Autauga, Lowndes	5,334
	Gainesville Lock and Dam Greene	1,010
ARKANSAS	DeQueen Lake Sevier	7,401
	Blakely Mt. Dam and Reservoir Garland	77,256
	Blue Mt. Lake Logan, Yell	17,019
	Bull Shoals Lake Baxter, Boone, Marion	64,145
	Lake Greeson Pike	15,953
	Nimrod Lake Perry, Yell	24,840
	Norfolk Lake Baxter, Fulton	49,032
	Bayou Bodeau Dam and Reservoir Lafayette	1,148
	Dardanelle Lock and Dam Johnson, Logan, Pope, Yell	44,972
	Greers Ferry Lake Cleburne	40,914
	Table Rock Lake Boone, Carroll	3,050
	Beaver Lake Benton, Carroll, Madison, Washington	38,040
	Millwood Lake Hempstead, Howard, Sevier, Little River	35,797
	DeGray Lake Clark, Hot Springs	30,601
	Gillham Lake Howard, Poke, Sevier	8,676
	Ozark Lock and Dam Crawford, Franklin	10,700
GEORGIA	West Point Lake Project Troup	35,888
	Allatoona Lake Bartow, Cherokee, Cobb	37,755
	Lake Sidney Lanier	56,041
	Clark Hill Lake	99,950
	Jim Woodruff Reservoir Decatur, Seminole	36,287
	Walter F. George Lock and Dam	25,183
	Hartwell Lake Franklin, Hart, Stephens	26,626
	Carter's Lake Gilmer, Gordon, Murray	8,900
LOUISIANA	Bonnet Carre Spillway St. Charles	7,697
	Bayou Bodeau Dam and Reservoir Bossier, Webster	32,498
	Miss. River S and SW Passes Plaquemines	14,937
	Old River Closure Project Concordia, Pointe Coupee, W. Feliciana	2,979
MISSISSIPPI	Arkabutla Lake Tate, DeSoto	36,023
	Enid Lake Panola, Lafayette, Yalobusha	43,437
	Grenada Lake Calhoun, Grenada, Yalobusha	84,410
	Sardis Lake Marshall, Lafayette, Panola	98,050
	Yazoo Project-Askew	4,305
	Okatibbee Lake Kemper, Lauderdale	10,954
	Hillside Floodway Holmes, Yazoo	15,383
NORTH CAROLINA	New Hope Lake Project Chatham	28,184
	W. Kerr Scott Dam and Reservoir	3,754
	John H. Kerr Dam and Reservoir	27,103
	Wilmington Harbor Eagle Brunswick	1,473
SOUTH CAROLINA	Clark Hill Lake McCormick, Abbeville	49,596
	Hartwell Lake	50,257
VIRGINIA	Flannagan Dam and Reservoir Northumberland	7,510
	No. Fork of Pound Lake Wise	5,177
	John H. Kerr Dam and Reservoir Charlotte, Mecklenburg, Halifax	77,603
	Philipott Reservoir Franklin, Henry, Patrick	9,326
	Bluestone Lake Giles	1,649
	Gathright Lake	6,613
	TOTAL	**1,476,936**

Appendix 4

Rental Receipts from U.S. Corps of Engineers Land Leased in Seven Southern States, by County, FY 1973

State-County	Project	Corps Receipts
ALABAMA		
Autauga	Jones Bluff L&D	$ 61.63
Montgomery	Jones Bluff L&D	1,620.43
Baldwin	GIWW	9.98
Barbour	W.F. George L&D	5,338.86
Dallas	W.F. George L&D	20.77
Henry	W.F. George L&D	277.60
Stewart	W.F. George L&D	1,795.50
Clark	Claiborne L&D	60.36
Monroe	Claiborne L&D	780.55
Choctaw	Jackson L&D	260.85
Green	Tenn. Tombig. WW	2,112.60
Tuscaloosa	Holt L&D	33.41
Wilcox	Miller's Ferry L&D	852.53
TOTAL		**$ 13,224.92**
GEORGIA		
Bartow	Allatoona Dam	$ 11,589.49
Cherokee	Allatoona Dam	13,539.12
Cobb	Allatonna Dam	1,152.94
Dawson	Buford Dam	1,122.84
Forsyth	Buford Dam	41,213.72
Hall	Buford Dam	31,049.24
Gwinnet	Buford Dam	756.44
Lumpkin	Buford Dam	39.90
Decatur	Jim Woodruff Dam	4,888.80
Seminole	Jim ,Woodruff Dam	349.13
Columbia	Clark Hill Lake	9,299.99
Elbert	Clark Hill Lake	696.72
Lincoln	Clark Hill Lake	7,798.47
McDuffie	Clark Hill Lake	840.53
Hart	Hartwell Lake	5,460.73
Stephens	Hartwell Lake	72.71
Franklin	Hartwell Lake	498.75
Troup	West Point Lake	1,871.31
TOTAL		**$132,234.81**
LOUISIANA		
Bossier	Bayou Bodcau	$ 1,145.64
Caddo	Wallace Lake	340.09
Desoto	Wallace Lake	116.24
Iberville	Gulf Intracoastal Waterway Apalachee Bay to Mexican Border	139.65
Jefferson	Gulf Intracoastal Waterway Apalachee Bay to Mexican Border	464.21
LaFourche	Gulf Intracoastal Waterway Apalachee Bay to Mexican Border	6,558.43
Plaquemine	Mississippi River Baton Rouge to Gulf of Mexico	7,636.05
Pointee Coupee	Old River	365.83
St. Charles	Bonnet Carre-Spillway	11,971.53
St. Mary	Atchafalaya Basin Floodway	29.98
Vermillion	Gulf Intracoastal Waterway Apalachee Bay to Gulf of Mexico	100.49
Webster	Bayou Bodcau	690.76
West Feliciana	Old River	431.41
Madison	Delta Point	124.69
TOTAL		**$ 30,115.14**
MISSISSIPPI		
Calhoun	Grenada Lake	$ 38,308.92
DeSoto	Arkabutla	16,093.40
Grenada	Grenada Lake	41,079.56
Hinds	Waterways Experiment Station	280.79
Holmes	Hillside Floodway	18,163.57
	Yazoo River Levees	11.46
Humphery	Yazoo River Levees	9.98
Lafayette	Enid Lake	18,298.14
	Sardis Lake	30,946.21
Marshall	Sardis Lake	22,681.25
Panola	Askew Area	522.20
	Enid Lake	7,487.24
	Sardis Lake	6,176.77
Tate	Arkabutla Lake	22,602.59
	Askew Area	827.58
Tunica	Askew Area	20,275.77
Warren	Waterways Experiment Station	2,234.91
Yalobusha	Enid Lake	36,759.78
	Grenada Lake	26,702.20
Yazoo	Hillside Floodway	742.99
	Yazoo Protection Works	476.81
TOTAL		**$310,982.10**
NORTH CAROLINA		
Camden	Intraocoastal Waterways	$ 109.73
Granville	John Kerr Lake	199.50
Vance	John Kerr Lake	1,775.55
Warren	John Kerr Lake	59.85
Wilkes	W. Kerr Scott	124.69
TOTAL		**$ 2,269.31**

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SOUTH CAROLINA		
Anderson	Hartwell Lake	$ 4,156.61
Oconee	Hartwell Lake	1,790.95
McCormick	Clark Hill Lake	5,180.87
Aiken	SRBA	49.88
TOTAL		**11,178.30**
VIRGINIA		
City of Chesapeake	Intracoastal Waterways	$ 7,580.85
Chesterfield	Appotamox River Div. Channel	119.70
Allegheny	Gathright Lake	12.46
Charlotte	John Kerr Lake	94.76
Halifax	John Kerr Lake	2,877.79
Mecklenburg	John Kerr Lake	7,788.36
Franklin	Philpott Lake	99.75
Dickenson	J. W. Flannagon	359.10
Giles	Bluestone	1,536.40
Wise	N. Fork/Pound	169.58
TOTAL		**$ 20,638.75**

Source: U.S. Corps of Engineers, South Atlantic Division, Management and Disposal Branch, Real Estate Division.

Appendix 5

Counties' Share of Fish and Wildlife Service Receipts Under PL 88–523, Fiscal Year 1972

State-County	National Wildlife Refuge	Acreage	¾ of 1% of Adjusted Land Cost	25% of Receipts	Counties' Share (Greater of Cols. 3 & 4)
ALABAMA					
Limestone	Wheeler	1,953	$ 6,667	$ 2,208	$ 6,667
Madison	Wheeler	3,025	10,326	838	10,326
Morgan	Wheeler	3,405	11,623		11,623
Total		**8,383**	**$28,617**	**$ 3,046**	**$ 28,617**
ARKANSAS					
Arkansas	White River	54,918	$17,061	$ 65,757	$ 65,757
Crittenden	Wapanocca	5,484	18,250	557	18,250
Desha	White River	23,508	5,576	31,381	31,381
Mississippi	Big Lake	990	1,145	71	1,145
Monroe	White River	17,961	6,885	18,644	18,644
Phillips	White River	9,948	3,211	12,065	12,065
Pope	Holla Bend	5,593	6,002		6,002
Yell	Holla Bend	773	458	10	458
Total		**119,178**	**$58,592**	**$128,488**	**$153,706**
GEORGIA					
Charleston	Okefenokee	172,817	$30,410	$ 2,897	$ 30,410
Chatham	Savannah	5,555	3,858	188	
Chatham	Wassaw	10,049	8,332	100	
Co. Total		15,605	12,191	288	12,191
Clinch	Okefenokee	17,720	2,843		2,843
Jasper	Piedmont	6,298	3,877	3,297	3,877
Jones	Piedmont	28,011	16,762	55,123	55,123
McIntosh	Blackbeard Is.	5,617	1,286		
McIntosh	Harris Neck	2,686	732	203	
McIntosh	Wolf Is.	538	123		
Co. Total		8,842	2,142	203	2,142
Ware	Okefenokee	180,865	28,398		28,398
Total		**430,160**	**$96,625**	**$ 56,015**	**$134,987**
LOUISIANA					
Cameron	Lacassine	31,123	$ 8,629	$ 8,778	$
Cameron	Sabine	139,436	37,497	3,251	
Co. Total		170,560	46,126	12,030	46,276
LaSalle	Catahoula	5,308	1,014	135	1,014
Plaquemines	Delta	44,499	17,795	507,688	507,688
Total		**220,368**	**$64,937**	**$519,854**	**$554,979**

(continued)

Counties' Share of Fish and Wildlife Service Receipts
Under PL 88–523, Fiscal Year 1972

State-County	National Wildlife Refuge	Acreage	¾ of 1% of Adjusted Land Cost	25% of Receipts	Counties' Share (Greater of Cols. 3 & 4)
MISSISSIPPI					
Noxubee	Noxubee	11,263	$ 8,059	$ 3,128	$ 8,059
Oktibbeha	Noxubee	16,224	7,645	19,120	19,120
Washington	Yazoo	12,470	27,821		27,821
Winston	Noxubee	18,235	8,415	41,920	41,920
Total		**58,193**	**$ 51,941**	**$ 57,912**	**$ 96,921**
NORTH CAROLINA					
Anson	Pee Dee	3,752	$ 6,589	$ 669	$ 6,589
Carteret	Cedar Is.	12,526	3,375		3,375
Currituck	Mackay Is.	6,170	4,492		4,492
Dare	Pea Is.	5,893	2,047		2,047
Hyde	Mattamuskeet	50,177	23,883	185	
Hyde	Pungo	7,544	15,052	41	
Hyde	Swanquarter	15,500	4,315		
Co. Total		73,222	43,251	226	43,251
Richmond	Pee Dee	900	1,638	15	1,638
Washington	Pungo	4,805	4,123		4,123
Total		**107,270**	**$ 65,517**	**$ 911**	**$ 65,517**
SOUTH CAROLINA					
Berkeley	Santee	2	$ 3	$ 75	$ 75
Charleston	Cape Romain	34,218	4,104	30	4,104
Chesterfield	Sandhills	45,186	11,529	3,017	11,529
Clarendon	Santee	4,337	6,751		6,751
Jasper	Savannah	7,617	4,122		4,122
Total		**91,362**	**$ 26,511**	**$ 3,122**	**$ 26,582**
VIRGINIA					
Accomack	Chincoteague	9,021	$ 4,610	$ 12,236	$ 12,236
Chesterfield	Presquile	1,328	1,429	53	1,429
Fairfax	Mason Neck	950	17,368		17,368
Va. Beach	Back Bay	4,588	6,481	11	
Va. Beach	Mackay Is.	842	360		
Co. Total		5,431	6,841	11	6,841
York	Plum Tree	3,275	334		334
Total		**20,007**	**$ 30,584**	**$ 12,301**	**$ 38,210**
Grand Total		**1,054,921**	**$423,324**	**$781,649**	**$1,099,519**

Appendix 6

Southeastern National Parks

State	Unit	County	Acreage
ALABAMA	Horseshoe Bend NMP	Tallapoosa	2,040
	Russell Cave NM	Jackson	310
	Natchez Trace Pkwy.	Colbert, Lauderdale	3,973
	TOTAL		**6,323**
ARKANSAS	Hot Springs NP	Garland	1,035
	Arkansas Post NM		
	Ft. Smith NHS	Sebastian	12
	Pea Ridge NMP	Benton	4,278
	TOTAL		**5,325**
GEORGIA	Ocmulgee NM	Bibb	683
	Kennesaw Mt. NBP	Cobb	2,882
	Andersonville NHS	Towns	201
	Ft. Frederica NM	Glynn	210
	Ft. Pulaski NM	Chatham	5,364
	Chickamagua NMP	Catoosa, Dade, Walker	6,220
	TOTAL		**15,560**
LOUISIANA	Chalmette NHP	St. Bernard	111
MISSISSIPPI	Vicksburg NMP	Warren	1,626
	Brice Cross Rds. NBS	Clay	1
	Tupelo NB	Lee	1
	Natchez Trace		29,700
	TOTAL		**31,328**
NORTH CAROLINA	Ft. Raleigh	Dare	140
	Cape Hatteras NS		19,335
	Guilford Courthouse NMP	Guilford	215
	Moores Creek NMP	Pender	42
	Wright Brothers	Dare	350
	Blue Ridge Parkway		41,125
	Smoky Mtns. NP	Haywood, Swain	273,105
	TOTAL		**334,292**
SOUTH CAROLINA	Ft. Sumter	Charleston	2
	Cowpens NBS	Cherokee	1
	King Mt. NMP	York, Cherokee	3,950
	TOTAL		**3,953**

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VIRGINIA	Appomattox NHP	Appomattox	937
	Booker T. Washington NM	Bedford	218
	Fredericksburg NMP	Carroll, Orange, Stafford	3,649
	Richmond NBP	Hanover, Henrico, Chesterfield	742
	Petersburg NB	Dinwiddie	1,522
	Manassas NBP	Prince William	2,771
	Jamestown NHS		
	Cumberland Gap	Lee	7,478
	Blue Ridge Pkwy.		28,123
	Shenandoah NP		193,533
	Prince William Forest Pk.	Stafford, Prince William	17,346
	TOTAL		**256,319**
	GRAND TOTAL		**653,211**

Source: *Inventory Report on Real Property Owned by the United States Throughout the World as of June 30, 1972,* General Services Administration, Washington, D.C.
NMP = National Military Park